THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 161 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 1, 1945 NUMBER 22

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 565

EDITORIALS

G. M. Strike, '46 Model 567
Economics in the Atomic Age 568

ARTICLES

The Two Nürnbergs, *by Peter de Mendelssohn* 569
"Negative Socialism" in Britain *by Aylmer Vallance* 571
Law and Legalism *by Rustem Vambery* 573
The People's Front *by Del Vayo* 575
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 576
The Education of Evans Carlson *by Carey McWilliams* 577

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Pilots, Man Your Planes *by Randall Jarrell* 581
The Portrait of New England *by Louise Bogan* 582
Bertrand Russell Among the Sages *by Sidney Hook* 586
The Dream from Which No One Wakes *by Delmore Schwartz* 590
Forever England! *by Keith Hutchison* 594
The Trollopes at Home and Abroad *by James Grossman* 596
Unamuno—Last Essays *by Mildred Adams* 598
Psychiatry and the Soldier *by Frank N. Trager* 600
In Short 601
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 603
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 604
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 605

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 137 *by Jack Barrett* 608

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL S. STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]
European Editor: J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL
JONATHAN DANIELS
CAREY MCWILLIAMS
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

IN HIS IMPRESSIVE OPENING ADDRESS, THE American prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, described the Nürnberg trial as "one of the most magnificent tributes that power ever has paid to reason." This set the keynote of the affair, and it strikes us as a false one. The Nazis on trial are criminals who planned and committed their crimes in broad daylight, proclaimed them, and rubbed the world's nose in them. They should be punished, and perhaps in the process it is well to dramatize their guilt by spreading on the record the documented story of their monstrous conspiracy of terror—lest the world grow forgetful or indifferent. This is good propaganda. But propaganda is not law; and the trial is riddled through with specious pretenses that the prosecutor's appeal to "reason" only accentuated. For it is not a fact that the Nazi leaders are being given "their day in court." They are being given the trappings of legality with little of its essence. This is unfortunate; first, because it presents the defendants with a broad target for technical rebuttal; second, because it brings law itself into contempt by converting a justifiable political procedure into a dubious legal one. If Germany had carried through a revolution after its defeat, punishment of the fascist "élite" would have been accomplished promptly and by political action. Since this did not happen, the criminals fell into the hands of the invading armies, and the International Military Tribunal was the result. In our opinion the proper procedure for this body would have been to identify the prisoners, read off their crimes with as much supporting data as seemed useful, pass judgment upon them quickly, and carry out the judgment without any delay whatever. We agree with Dr. Vambery's analysis of the trial printed on another page of this issue: when political acts are disguised as law, both politics and law are vitiated.

*

THE ATTEMPT TO TURN THE PEARL HARBOR hearings into a Republican holiday has miserably failed. President Roosevelt could not answer the grotesque suggestion that he had deliberately baited the Japanese into attacking so that he could force this country into the European war. But the evidence itself refuted the slander, and the tables were completely turned when former Secretary of State Hull and former Under Secretary Welles took the stand. The story they told was the familiar one of patient negotiations, long-continued appeasement, repeated efforts to find compromise solutions acceptable to Japan, and along with these a modest show of strength intended to warn the Japanese militarists that our forbearance had limits. Keeping the fleet at Hawaii was the major part of that show. The two letters

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Mr. Churchill to Mr. Roosevelt clearly indicate that he thought the President too hesitant and too conciliatory in dealing with Japan; while Matsuoko's amazing conversation with Hitler—published at Nürnberg—reveals his cold-blooded determination to precipitate war with the West in order to accomplish the last item in Japan's expansionist program. Indeed, as the record unfolds, the Republican charges appear more and more preposterous. By the time the hearings end, a contrary verdict may well have been reached and the Administration found guilty not of goading an unwilling Japan into war but rather of exercising excessive caution, which had the inevitable effect of inflating Japanese demands and multiplying Japanese aggressions.

✶

WITH THE GREAT MILITARY VICTORY WON IT IS fitting that the chief architects of victory should step down, to be replaced by younger leaders who achieved stature on the battlefield. Yet one can hardly see General Marshall and Admiral King leave office without sensing a loss, or without feeling a profound sense of gratitude and respect for the intellectual grasp, the single-mindedness, the energy, and the devotion they brought to their duties. Marshall in particular is assured a high place in history. He has been called one of the finest soldiers the United States army ever produced; more likely he will stand as the finest soldier who ever produced a United States army. General Marshall's distinguished successor marked his elevation to the top of his profession by giving the American Legion convention in Chicago the most sensible and realistic arguments for universal military training that we have heard. General Eisenhower is too honest to pretend that another war will be fought as the last one was; he has the vision to call for "machinery by which the world may settle its difficulties legally and peaceably"; he is realistic enough to demand a United States strong enough to fight another war if that machinery should fail in conception or execution. The same newspaper that carried Eisenhower's speech brought news of United States submarines being armed with rocket guns right now, with the "distinct probability" of a future development in which atomic-explosive rockets will be fired from a submerged submarine. General Eisenhower knows the shape of future war. He wants universal training because in a time of "sudden and devastating raids" it would be better to have "trained and disciplined men ready to fight the conflagration, to rescue the wounded, and to rally instantly behind their leaders." In other words the army will train several hundred thousand disaster experts annually. One may disagree with the proposition, but it is refreshing to have it stated so bluntly.

✶

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, THAT PRICKLY RELIC of an age of wars, has come in for some rough handling during the last few weeks. The Truman-Attlee-King statement, for all its wooliness, delivered the sacred doctrine a few pointed jabs. If a United Nations authority is to have power to inspect and poke around for concealed atomic weapons in any nation then national security has ceased to be a private affair. Last week, the Tory Eden and the Laborite Bevin had their turn. The first suggested that because "every succeeding scientific discovery makes greater nonsense of the old-time conception of sovereignty" big nations had better be prepared to give up their veto rights on the Security Council. The second talked of a radical reconstitution of the United Nations Assembly to make it a directly-elected body with the Security Council responsible to it. Perhaps these English voices echo an awareness that Britain is no longer to be numbered with the great powers and consequently must press, along with the middle and smaller powers, for greater equality between nations and more authority vested in the international body. Perhaps behind them are more sinister motives. Perhaps they simply show that England has reached a political maturity that this country and Russia have not yet achieved. For the giants, misled by the more obvious manifestations of strength, view all suggestions of international understanding with suspicion and resist an authority that might curb their sovereign arrogance. Indeed, the urgent practical problem between now and January when the United Nations Assembly meets is to discover the means whereby the two greatest powers can be brought to a common ground of honest discussion and understanding. No effort must be spared to effect this. For at the United Nations meeting the test will come: it will not be a test for the survival of Russian or American or British sovereignty but the first of a series of tests for the survival of our civilization.

✶

THE FRENCH POLITICAL CRISIS WAS OVERCOME by an ingenious compromise which leaves General de Gaulle's position substantially intact, but provides the Communists with the letter of their demands. De Gaulle's first attempt to form a Cabinet, after the Assembly had elected him interim President of the Republic, broke down when he refused to allot the Communists one of the three key ministries—Foreign Affairs, Interior, or War. Now he has abolished the last of these offices and made himself Chief of the Armies, which, in effect, means Minister of Defense. However, the Communists are satisfied by the appointment of one of their deputies to the new position of Minister of Armaments even though this office will be under the direct supervision of the President. In addition they have obtained one of the four new Ministries of State, whose holders are to serve as coordinators rather than administrators, together with the portfolios of National Economy, Industrial Production, and Labor. Thus they will be in a favorable position to influence the transformation of the French economic system and will bear a heavy responsibility for the tempo of industrial reconstruction. The other positions in the government are mainly divided between the Socialists and the Popular Republicans. Among the former we welcome the inclusion as Minister of Public Works and Transport of our contributor Jules Moch. At its first meeting, the new Cabinet gave a favorable reception to De Gaulle's program, which emphasized administrative and economic reform. By calling for the preparation of plans to nationalize banking and electrical power, De Gaulle pleased the three major parties, all of which have advocated such measures. But despite a smooth beginning the government is likely to run into stormy weather, particularly on questions of foreign policy and finance. The first test may come on the budget, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

M. Pleven, Minister of Finance, proposes to submit to the Assembly immediately.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS urging prompt action on a program to safeguard the health of the American people deserves far more attention than it has received. Citing the appallingly high rejection rate of the army and navy as evidence that large sections of our population lack the medical and dental services which this country is technically able to provide, the President called attention to the uneven distribution of doctors and hospitals, the inadequacy of existing public-health facilities, the need for far more intensive research than is now being carried on, and the present excessive cost of medical care. Many of the detailed provisions of a broad federal health program were not included in his message, but Mr. Truman pulled no punches in aligning the Administration behind the general principles of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. He indorsed an inclusive medical-insurance plan covering all types of medical and dental care, that would apply to the whole population. He also called for the extensive use of federal funds to aid in hospital construction and the expansion of public-health, maternal, and child-health services. Unfortunately the President did not make his health program a "must" for 1945. Certainly no item on the calendar, with the possible excepiton of the full-employment bill, is more important.

G. M. Strike, '46 Model

IN THE good old days, strikes, like everything else in life, were simpler. The union posed a demand for better wages, hours, and working conditions. The management made a reply, and if the gap was too great both sides slugged it out until one or the other or both were hurt enough to agree to a solution. In the General Motors strike, the forerunner and prototype of many more to come during the transition period, neither the issues nor the contestants are so uncomplicated.

On the one hand, the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers are asking not merely for a wage increase, but for acceptance of a program with new and startling implications concerning prices, a theory of national economics, the workers' alternate role as consumer, and the notion that a great corporation's finances can no longer be considered a private matter, that, indeed, its operations are affected with a public interest. In making these demands, the protagonist is not the union alone; it is the great non-corporate mass of Americans. On the other hand, the opponent is not merely G. M., but a federation of America's big business enterprises. While they are combating wage increases, they are also fighting the government which supports Reuther's economic policy, and the one agency of that government, the OPA, which most effectively gores their ox. And they are further struggling to prevent two alarming innovations. The first is the idea of making public for inspection the secrets of their finances, earnings, and expenses. The second is the closing of an avenue of escape they formerly employed when a union got too strong for them—conspiring with the union to take wage increases out of the hides of the consumers.

Developments during the G. M. wage negotiations and during the first few days of the strike illustrate the new kind of battle and reveal the new issues and conflicts which will be seen in the disputes coming up in the next weeks or months.

Walter P. Reuther, U. A. W. vice-president in charge of G. M. negotiations, began discussions which proved that the old-fashioned bargaining methods of breast-beating, arm-waving, oath-taking, and tub-thumping had given way to something more adult. He began by presenting a remarkably well-written and tightly argued series of economic briefs, crammed with such compelling facts and figures that G. M. ducked most of them and the answer it made to the rest could be knocked down by a sophomore economics student. Next, and even more terrifying to the company, Reuther firmly insisted that wage increases were not to be charged to the automobile purchaser. His argument that workers are consumers, even his broader argument for the necessity of nationally increased purchasing power, were not world-shaking economic novelties, but they were pronouncements to make G. M. and American industry generally shake in their boots. Unions may have advanced the arguments before, but never so adamantly. And, finally, Reuther raised the sixty-four-dollar question, or more accurately, considering its effect on all American business, the sixty-four-million-dollar question: In settling the dispute, whether by direct negotiations, fact-finding, or arbitration, would G. M. open its books?

G. M. said no, not merely because it is afraid of the facts its books would show, but because of the principle involved. It is noteworthy that in rejecting the arbitration offer, or in failing simply to agree to arbitration in principle with criteria to be worked out later—a reply which almost certainly would have been acceptable to the union—G. M. could not make up its mind within the twenty-four-hour deadline set by the union. It does not take an unusually cynical mind to suspect that G. M. needed more time in order to do some consulting. This suspicion is strengthened by the language used in turning down the offer: "The union proposed that G. M. relinquish its right to manage its own business," and the proposal meant that "an arbitration board would assume the responsibilities of management." That such a reply is obviously ridiculous in the light of the history of arbitration is not the point. Its significance lies in the fact that the words are almost identical with those used by Sewell Avery a few days before when he rejected a union proposal for arbitration in the Montgomery Ward dispute. They echo what has been implicit in the Greyhound Bus Lines' refusal to arbitrate its strike. It is evident that in regard to arbitration, that golden solution business always extolled for the other fellow's company and for all unions, there is a meeting of minds among industrial leaders.

In General Motors, as in the rest of strike-threatened American industry, much greater issues are at stake for the employers than hourly wage increases to maintain take-home pay. Management is out to scotch the deadly heresy that prices and profits are the public's business. It is in a peculiarly strong battling position. First, the repeal of the excess-profits tax makes strikes from now until the first of next year relatively inexpensive. G. M. is in a slightly less fortunate position because of the competitive necessity to reconvert quickly, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even so the strike was ill-timed from the union's standpoint. Second, industry can count for a while at least on Congress playing its game. Although legislation may ultimately be passed that will restrict business as much as labor, Congress at the moment is anti-union. Third, industry is gambling on the new man in the White House and drawing enormous comfort from the fact that the President's closest adviser is John W. Snyder, whose instincts and acts are predictable, consistent, and conservative.

By resisting higher wages, enforced publicity of its books, and a post-war economic philosophy, industry also hopes to knock off another foe, the OPA. Its plan of campaign is based on the expectation that when the strike situation becomes sufficiently desperate and reconversion sufficiently jeopardized, the Administration will have no alternative but to lift price ceilings to the point where the OPA must collapse. Or if the Administration refuses, Congress itself will seize the long-awaited excuse to exterminate the OPA. Ben Fairless of U. S. Steel has already sounded the battle cry, stating in almost so many words that collective bargaining could be resumed if OPA were out of the picture. G. M.'s position amounts to the same thing.

In taking a stand against higher prices, Reuther is fighting the government's battle and the consumers' battle. When American consumers realize that he and like-minded unionists are working for them more effectively and intelligently than anyone since Leon Henderson and Chester Bowles, the current wave of strikes will be settled quickly and the right way.

Economics in the Atomic Age

SINCE Hiroshima there has been a tremendous outpouring of words, written and oral, on the subject of atomic energy, of which perhaps 1 per cent has been devoted to the benefits mankind might derive from this truly Promethean advance in knowledge. There are, unfortunately, all too good reasons for concentration on the evil aspects of this new fruit of the tree of knowledge, for the only practical use to which it has so far been put is destruction. And its potentialities for that purpose are so terrific that our immediate, overwhelming concern must be to prevent its use in global suicide.

Consequently, while the central problem created by the atom bomb—discussed in the last two issues of *The Nation* by Freda Kirchwey and King Gordon—remains unsolved, it may seem a little futile to speculate about the economic consequences of atomic fission. If means cannot be found to control the use of atomic weapons, if we are doomed to a new armament race, then research in nuclear physics will be directed toward military rather than industrial ends. Moreover, in this situation security will demand the maintenance of an iron curtain of secrecy. Freedom of scientific communication will be curtailed inside each country, and internationally it will be lost altogether. With science confined in the kind of concentration camp provided for it by the May-Johnson bill, its progress will be seriously slowed down if it is not entirely stalled.

Another consequence of failure to institute international controls for the military use of atomic energy will be that any discoveries made in its industrial utilization will be maintained as national monopolies instead of being made available for the common benefit of mankind. Thus economically as well as politically the policy of the "sacred" but exclusive trust must sharpen national rivalries and enhance national jealousies. Yet if the world could be freed from its preoccupation with the military aspects of atomic power so that scientists everywhere could cooperate in developing its peaceful uses, there would be a real prospect of easing the economic pressures which have so often proved the root causes of war.

Much needs to be done before atomic fission can be safely harnessed for industrial purposes, but potentially it offers us an inexhaustible supply of energy at a very low cost in terms of human labor. Properly applied, this energy could overcome the abysmal poverty in which the greater part of mankind stagnates today. It could be used to produce cheap fertilizer on a tremendous scale for the restoration of exhausted soils which now provide a bare means of subsistence for Asia's masses. Used for irrigation, it could make deserts fit for human habitation and so create outlets for surplus populations. By making possible cheap air-conditioning in the tropics and large scale space-heating in cold countries, it could reduce the handicaps imposed on many peoples by climatic extremes.

From the American point of view, however, the promise of increased human productivity has its ambiguous aspects. For it appears to intensify problems of overproduction and technological unemployment which are already deeply disturbing. If atomic energy adds to our capacity for producing goods, can we raise consumption to an equal extent, or will this new tool simply throw more men out of work? Dr. Abba P. Lerner has pointed out in *Common Sense* that there is a vital connection between the answers found to these questions and the problem of war prevention. According to Marxist dogmas, capitalist societies cannot solve the unemployment problem, since their pattern of distribution generates insufficient domestic consuming power to absorb capacity production. Consequently they are forced to attempt to solve their production problems by resorting to the outlets furnished by imperialism and war. Until America, therefore, proves its ability to combine full employment and private enterprise, Russian policy is likely to be based on the need for preparedness against eventual capitalist aggression.

We may or may not consider this thesis grotesque, but it can hardly be denied that a failure by the United States to solve its employment problem, a repetition of the boom-and-bust cycle of the inter-war years, would produce new and acute tensions, internal and external. Left to itself, private enterprise is all too likely to suffer a crisis of confidence with or without atomic assistance. Yet atomic energy could prove the *deus ex machina*, giving us more time to grapple with the contradictions of our economic system, if its development offered a new outlet for surplus savings and it thus filled the historical role created by steam power and later taken over by electricity and the internal-combustion engine.

To play this part, however, the exploitation of atomic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

energy must be freed from military trammels and kept out of the hands of private monopolies. Since the primary objective of the May-Johnson bill is security, it is a fair assumption that the control commission it sets up would be dominated by the army. Further, the logic of security would call for the stifling of independent scientific investigations and encourage concentration of research in the more easily controlled laboratories of the big corporations, which always enjoy an inside track to the Pentagon. The result would be that decisions on the industrial application of discoveries in the atomic field would be left largely in the hands of those whose interests are often best served by the suppression or restriction of inventions which threaten existing capital values.

The conclusion is inescapable. Oak Ridge, Hanford, and Los Alamos and the "know-how" they incorporate are the fruit of an investment of public funds and must remain public property. The government need not monopolize the preparation and utilization of fissionable materials, but it should make sure that no one else does so, by continuing to finance research and by undertaking whatever "yardstick" industrial operations the results of that research justify.

[*This is the last of a series of editorials on certain aspects of atomic control which will be discussed at the conference called by The Nation Associates at the Hotel Astor in New York on December 1–3.*]

The Two Nuernbergs

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

[The Nation's *special correspondent at the war trials*]

Nürnberg, November 21 (by cable)

THERE are two Nürnbergs in this town, enshrouded in wintry mists and drizzling rain: one, all but forgotten by the world, is a stark, fearful reality to the citizens, who gaze on it with uncomprehending eyes; the other, now in the world's limelight, means little or nothing to the people. There is more than outward significance in the fact that two miles separate the medieval walled city, reduced to a heap of rubble by Allied air attacks, from the vast, rambling courthouse on the outskirts of the town, where under the majestic flags of four victorious powers the Allied Military Tribunal now hears an overwhelming array of evidence against twenty Nazi criminals. To one who visits both, their distance apart seems not only a matter of miles but of centuries; the difference is that of two of the world's ages. Indeed, looking down from the press gallery on Julius Streicher, square-jawed, short, bald-headed, and insignificant, resembling a suburban grocer, one finds it hard to believe that this is the man who only a short while ago ruled this town with a riding whip in his hand and a revolver in his belt and who reduced ancient and populous Jewish communities to a few pitiful souls now cared for, oddly enough, by the friendly Dr. Nürnberger. Here side by side are the beginning and the end of the story. The overcrowded tram cars which take one from the old town to the courthouse seem to rumble purposelessly through a strange, oppressive historical vacuum.

The old town lies quiet, as if it had died a hundred years ago, seemingly forgetful of its former splendor, no longer caring what flattened it to ash and rubble. I have seen most of the destroyed cities of Germany, and Nürnberg is different from all the others. I shall never forget my first view of it as I wandered through its abandoned ruins on a cold, only occasionally sunlit Sunday morning. This town breathed history while it lived, and it still manages fleetingly to suggest—in an occasional wondrous flash—the fact of its antiquity. It is perhaps a callous thing to say, but there is charm and even beauty in its ravaged face. Destroyed Nürnberg somehow isn't hideous, like other bombed cities; one doesn't associate its death with the war. It looks like a medieval walled town razed by a gigantic catastrophe, a great fire or an earthquake.

Against the immeasurable agony they caused, the twenty shabby men who sit on hard wooden benches in the courthouse facing the eight just men of the tribunal seem almost out of proportion. (They face also in the press gallery old "friends" like Shirer, Howard Smith, Louis Lochner, and Fred Oechsner, whom Göring and Ribbentrop recognized with an uncomfortable look.) Clearly, they do not measure up to the tremendous significance of the trial. One can't help feeling one would have liked to see bigger men—bigger in every sense—answer for the calamity which will be unfolded by the evidence laid before the tribunal. These are very little men, and that is perhaps what makes their conspiracy the outrageous thing it was.

Hitler, of course, isn't there. Those who are there are a ragged, spiritless, motley crew of second-rate characters. The light, if ever it shone in them, has certainly gone out. What was that light? Was it Hitler? Something undoubtedly held the group together. What the trial would have been like if Hitler had been taken alive it is difficult to imagine. In trying twenty of his closest friends and associates is the tribunal also trying him? It doesn't seem so. He seems far removed from it all. One can't help feeling that in a way the tribunal is trying the bulb and not the light, an empty cartridge and not the explosive that fired it. But the course of the trial may change that impression. It may or may not place Hitler finally in history, reveal him as he really was.

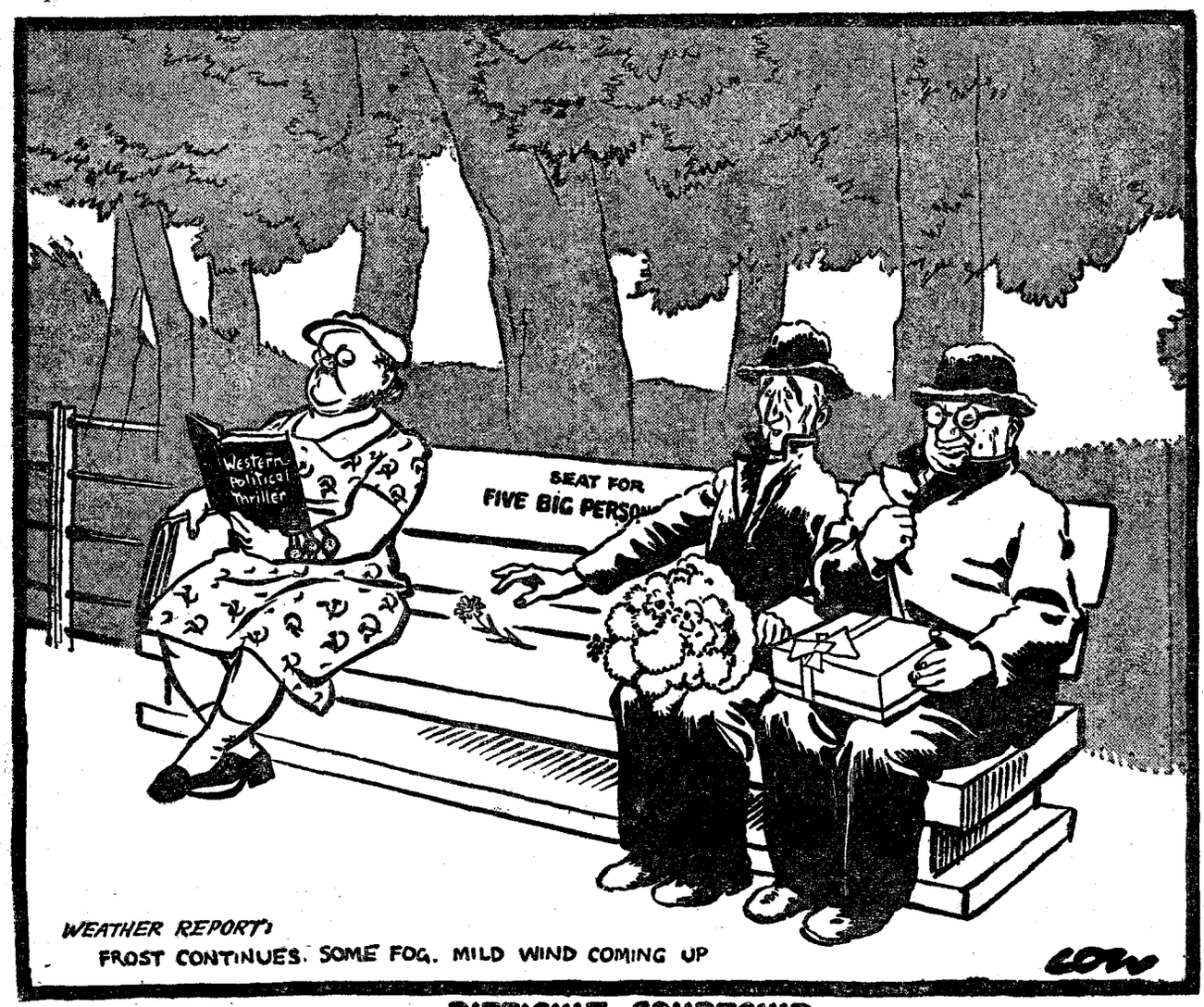
Looking at them now in the harsh glare of big searchlight lamps suspended from the ceiling, one perceives not even the dull reflection of his dynamism in the faces of these gray, tired, uninspired men. On the first day, when the long indictment was read, they apparently took things rather easily. They chatted, smiled, exchanged supercilious and facetious looks. On the second day, which began with the tribunal's rejection of an absurd and impertinent mo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion offered by defense counsel and ended with Jackson's hard-hitting, closely argued, and masterfully delivered address, their faces grew long and serious. But even in their littleness they are not a homogeneous group. Frick sits in the dock like a dismissed school teacher; Funk suggests a traveling salesman fallen on hard times. Schacht is clearly in a class by himself. He keeps a demonstrative distance from the others, sitting stiffly in a corner as if to indicate he is there by mistake and if the court doesn't realize that, so much the worse for the court. Papen and Neurath, white-haired and bronzed, evidently conceive of themselves as the gentlemen of the party; Seyss-Inquart, looking the second-rate suburban lawyer that he was, obviously isn't admitted to their select circle. Doenitz and Raeder, the two admirals, look like a couple of discharged street-car conductors on the dole—one can't believe that these two miserable tramps knew the first thing about naval strategy. Ribbentrop, Hess, and Göring sit together; both Ribbentrop and Göring apparently take a friendly interest in the haggard, hollow-eyed erstwhile Deputy Führer, who most of the time has his arms crossed squarely over his chest, as one remembers him sitting in the front row of the big party rallies. Hess makes the utterly lonely and God-forsaken impression of a complete cipher, but the prison psychiatrist says he is intelligent, alert, and logical in conversation. One wouldn't be surprised suddenly to find he was dead and nobody had noticed it. The once flashing Ribbentrop has aged considerably; he looks frail, his hair is thin and gray; he has a loose stooping gait which accentuates his rundown appearance.

It is Göring, in a strange light-gray uniform with shining brass buttons that looks like a cinema usher's coat, who is the star of the performance. He has the star's seat at the beginning of the front row, where he is clearly visible from all sides—except when an American guard plants himself in front of him and stares him intently in the face; this does not bother Göring at all—he stares back interestedly at the soldier's uniform. He is composed, sure of himself, behaves as if he were at home. Yet he is never supercilious or facetious like, for instance, Frank, who is far and away the unpleasantest of the lot. Göring follows the proceedings intently. To him the trial obviously isn't a good proposition, but he seems determined to see what he can make of it through civility, manners, and adult behavior. Judge Lawrence's sharp rebuff on the second day, when he tried to read the statement instead of answering guilty or not guilty, did not upset him. If given a chance, he will try again.

Wandering back to the dark, dead town at the close of the session, one still finds it hard to convince oneself of the reality of the whole affair. But it is true. Twenty little wretches who mean nothing and terrify nobody are sitting in the dock. This is the last instalment of a serial that has run twelve years too long.



DIFFICULT COURTSHIP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Negative" Socialism in Britain

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent*)

London, November 8

FIRM in the Faith, G. K. Chesterton wrote consolingly, "'Neath no world terror's wing, apples forget to grow on apple trees." Conscious that their endeavors may all be nullified by one big bang unless the present tangle surrounding the atomic bomb is unraveled, the British Labor government conscientiously continues the cultivation of its domestic orchard—with restless Socialist back-benchers quizzing critically the sparseness, so far, of the crop. The mutineers who threatened to force a resolution in favor of an immediate increase of old-age pensions have so far been kept "below decks" by Mr. Morrison, brandishing a disciplinary pistol from the ministerial poop, but they are by no means subdued. And this week there has been a new revolt. Irritated by the discovery that legislation on big issues like the financing of housing and the nationalization of coal is not ready—so that the time of Parliament has had to be devoted during the past fortnight to a series of petty bills mostly inherited from the Coalition—Labor members have relieved their feelings by improving, in committee, the government's measure providing for a new system of compensation for industrial injuries. Mr. Griffiths, Minister of National Insurance, pleaded in vain for "loyalty" from the rebels. They stood their ground, and a number of other back-bench amendments raising the rates and "humanizing" the conditions of benefit are due for discussion.

Trivial enough in themselves, these incidents are symptomatic of a growing rift between the Ministers and their supporters *in Parliament*. I emphasize the last two words because in the electorate as a whole Labor voters, as witness the big Labor gains in last week's municipal elections, are still staunch in their party faith and allegiance. Parliament is peculiar in that whereas the Cabinet consists of elderly men strongly influenced in some cases by their upbringing in the trade-union movement, the Parliamentary party is definitely "intellectual" in its composition; it contains a number of relatively young men with university degrees and a keen insight into the implications of demi-semi-socialism. Their headache is not so much the months of gestation apparently required by the Cabinet before delivery of a concerted legislative plan for full employment, settlement of post-war wages, and, above all, production of houses and coal. What makes them profoundly uneasy about the present trend is the fear that we are getting a sort of *negative* socialism which will neither work nor let capitalism work. In other words, the emphasis at the moment is all on preventing the private entrepreneur from canalizing our limited resources in directions which would be contrary to the general interest. Thus "controlled" and disciplined, the private entrepreneur sits back and does nothing. And nothing has yet been put productively in his place.

The result is most painfully obvious in the matter of housing. Here the government's policy is rooted in the decision *not* to nationalize the building industry, made up as it is of a few large and a host of small contractors. Instead, the industry is held in apron strings by very stringent indirect controls. All building is subject to license, and no license is now being issued for a house costing more than $4,800. This means that middle-class building is "out." Quite properly, since the working-class need of houses to rent is infinitely greater and deserves priority. But no building contractor will of his own initiative construct a $4,800 dwelling for a working-class tenant to rent. To begin with, a contractor is so uncertain of his future costs—with building operatives agitating vehemently for a big, immediate rise in pay—that his profit on such a house, which must conform to an approved specification of materials and size, would be dubious even if he sold it on completion. And if he were to let it, he could not count on getting anything like its true economic rent.

Given the existing average level of working-class earnings, nearly half the real rent of the approved-size house, if built with capital obtained at current commercial rates, must be made good out of Treasury subsidies; and these are not available to the private entrepreneur. So he keeps his workmen, quite profitably, busy doing leisurely repairs to blitzed dwellings, and waits for the local authorities to place contracts with him to build new houses.

On the disabilities of the local authorities, the shortage of architects, surveyors, and skilled draftsmen, your correspondent has already reported. These account in part for the fact that their housing programs have still not begun to materialize. But there are additional obstacles. The local authorities do not yet know what rate of interest they will have to pay on capital borrowed for housing from the Exchequer; they do not know what form of subsidy they are to draw—or from what source they are to draw it—to make up the difference between "obtainable" and "economic" rentals; and they do not know what system they will be required to operate, fixed-price contract or "cost plus a percentage," to check the cupidity of the contractors with whom they deal.

In short, it is once more being demonstrated, as it was in the case of many war contracts, that it is much more difficult and more productive of inefficiency to place private undertakings under control than to socialize them outright. Aneurin Bevan may yet be compelled to set up a National Building Corporation—in other words, to nationalize a big slice of the building industry. So far, his "controls," right and proper as they are in intention, have merely paralyzed the building industry by removing the normal capitalist incentive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The discovery of a substitute for that incentive in a planned economy subject to partial public control is going to become Britain's chief problem. Linked to it is another awkward question—the relationship between management and labor in non-profit-making public corporations, the type of agency which the government has chosen to develop British civil airways, external and internal, which it will probably select to run the railways under state ownership, and which most members of the Cabinet favor as a mechanism to smooth the transition from capitalism to socialism. The possibility of grave disharmony within such corporations has been illustrated uncomfortably this week by the refusal of the London bus crews to obey the fiat of the London Passenger Transport Board that standing passengers up to a dozen must still be carried in rush hours and up to eight in the "off-peak" period. The crews contended that continuance of this wartime expedient was "inefficient": it meant that fares simply could not be collected by fatigued conductors, half of them girls, in overcrowded buses. The board's attitude was that the making of running rules was *their* function, not to be usurped by the employees. Stranded passengers wanted to know whether this sort of conflict, at the consumer-user's expense, was to be expected in every undertaking handed over to a public corporation.

There is considerable head-shaking, too, over the fact that the dockers' strike—broken by the government with the unlimited use of troops to work cargoes—was directed against employers who in many cases were public corporations operating ports.

As I have previously emphasized in this correspondence, a government which considers that its mandate is to socialize only a small sector of the national economy is bound to be up against the problem of incentives when it tries to achieve "planning," whether it be by imposing indirect controls or by converting the directors of a private monopoly into the management of a statutory but semi-autonomous public corporation. Mr. Dalton's autumn preview of next year's budget showed that he, at least, does not ignore the need for incentives in the form of increased spending power in return for effort. Though the risk of inflation in a time of acute commodity shortage prevented him from lowering materially the onerous, and deliberately restrictive, level of indirect taxation, his modest cut of 10 per cent in the standard rate of income tax and his partial restoration of the pre-war scales of tax-free "allowances" free two million people in the lower brackets from direct taxes on their pay packets, and represent quite an encouraging relief for all incomes up to $10,000 a year. (Why he made these concessions apply even to unearned income is something of a mystery; and his failure to restore the tax-free "earned-income allowance" up to a maximum of £300 has been so criticized as a departure from the principle of "more incentives" that he will probably incorporate this further relief in the budget when it is finally presented next April.)

But can a little lightening of what is bound to be for many years a terrific burden really provide the energizing principle? The mystique of the nineteenth-century British Socialists—brotherhood, social service, "each for all and all for each"—would have an old-fashioned, high-falutin' ring in the ears of British Labor today. The worker, by and large, is out for his "rights," whether the "boss" is a public corporation or a private employer, and he expects a Labor government to see that he gets them. The entrepreneur sees too many obstacles for his liking in the way of profitable activity; like the vanished prehistoric animals he is failing to adjust himself to his new environment. And the professional administrators, Mr. Burnham's "managerial class," in the big corporations and the higher grades of the bureaucracy have been left too tired by the war to wonder whether or not history is giving them omnipotence.

In time, one trusts, the Labor government will evolve a positive plan for Socialist action to fill the vacuum which at present exists. It is not very encouraging to learn that the promised National Investment Board, whose establishment was to follow the nationalization of the Bank of England, is likely to take the form of yet another "negative" control designed to withhold capital—by a licensing system imposed on new issues—from "unessential" undertakings. But, then, this Parliament is still young; ultimately the absolute necessity of fulfilling the promise of full employment will force the government to move with greater intrepidity along the road to "positive" socialism.

The question which overshadows all these immediate domestic perplexities is the problem of the bomb. This week's debate on it in the Commons was a bitter disappointment. Applauded by the Tories, Mr. Bevin struck despair into the hearts of the Labor back benches. He did not, it is true, go all the way with Mr. Churchill, who seemed to imagine that peace could be permanently imposed by an Anglo-American alliance—provided that the United States never lost its lead in the manufacture of bigger and better bombs, sold some to Britain, and persuaded the minor countries to eschew atomic weapons and trust in the wise, kind English-speaking policeman. To that counsel of despair, which would mean the confirmation of Russia's worst suspicions and the jettisoning of the whole work done at San Francisco, Mr. Bevin did not quite lend himself. He stressed his desire to see the authority of the World Security Council gradually strengthened and his disapproval of power politics, and he disclaimed any intention of planning action "detrimental" to the U. S. S. R. in Eastern Europe. But his references to Russia—seeking to "get right across the throat of the British Commonwealth"—were undisguisedly hostile; he indorsed the view that there should be no sharing of atomic knowledge—as if there were any real "secret" left to keep—until the international relations had been improved by "time and conciliation"; and he made it plain that he was just as determined as President Truman to retain powerful national armed forces of all kinds.

Appalled by this Palmerstonian speech, to which Mr. Attlee listened in silence, Labor members were left wondering whether it led to any conclusion really different from Mr. Churchill's Anglo-American alliance against Russia, whose determination not to be left behind in the atomic race Mr. Molotov had just emphasized. For is there much future for a World Authority if two of its principal members claim the right to outdo the rest in striking power? Is there much scope for "time and conciliation" to work if an ideological line-up against one great power is already evident?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Law and Legalism

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

(*Professor of criminal law and former dean of the Law School at the University of Budapest*)

JURISTS may still be wrangling over their concept of law, as Immanuel Kant accused them of doing nearly two centuries ago. There are, nevertheless, some established principles governing these allegedly indefinable rules of conduct. "*Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft,*" wrote Goethe; and law, which circulates in the veins of the body politic, is a particular kind of precept. It is not merely a variety of prose divided into articles and sections. No lawmaker can afford to disregard the fundamental principles of law and jurisprudence. If he does, the enforced rules will be law only in name, as were the so-called laws issued by Mussolini and Hitler. Civilized nations have evolved these principles at the cost of millions of human lives, sacrificed in the struggle against tyranny, and no change in the substance of law should ignore them, for they are constituent parts of man's Bill of Rights and of our Western civilization.

There can be no difference of opinion about the necessity of exterminating the monsters who were responsible for the unspeakable horrors in Europe and Japan. That the Nazi and fascist leaders should be shot or hanged by the military or political power goes without saying, but has nothing to do with law. The selection of the culprits is the business of the political or military machinery. Application of a legal procedure in dealing with an unsuccessful revolution is not adequate, for, as a familiar couplet puts it:

> Treason can never prosper—What's the reason?
> If it does prosper none dare call it treason.

If an attempt is made to apply the law of a stable society to the atrocities of revolution and war in a world turned topsy-turvy, the narrow frame of law will burst without restoring the desirable order.

However, it was in defense of law and justice that the Allied forces fought and died—unless we use these terms as a euphemism cloaking imperialist interests. The law was not Polish or Dutch or French or Czechoslovak law, but the fundamental principles which are common to all civilization and which the authoritarian revolutions had flouted. Judges guided by "sound popular feeling," introduction of the principle of retroactivity, the presumption of future guilt, the collective responsibility of a racial or political group, the denial of protection to the individual against the arbitrariness of the state, the revival of tribal revenge, and the most atrocious cruelty were salient features of what Hitler's Germany understood by law. Anyone familiar with the history of criminal law knows how many centuries or rather millennia it took before the exact opposite of this Nazi theory and practice became generally recognized as an integral part of law and justice.

This historical development should not be ignored by the Allies in their endeavor to restore pre-Nazi law. Thus far the trial of "war criminals" in France and elsewhere has revealed little respect for pre-war legal principles. Unfortunately, the Indictment of the leading war criminals filed with the International Military Tribunal also exhibits characteristics reminiscent of Hitlerian jurisprudence. Of course the United Nations War Crimes Commission would not confess to the application of such homeopathic methods, but the fact seems clear. The Indictment is partly a succinct account of the events of World War II, partly a summary of the horrors perpetrated by Germans in occupied areas and in Germany itself. However, when it declares without any supporting evidence that "about" four million persons were exterminated in Auschwitz and one million tortured in Rovno and does not say who committed these unprecedented crimes, it must be regarded as an explanation of why the Allies waged the war rather than as a legal document.

In his report to the President Justice Jackson warned against the danger that the trials would become enmeshed in "doctrinal disputes, which are part of a lawyer's paraphernalia." It appears from the Indictment itself, which repeatedly refers (Sections VIII and X) to "the general principles of criminal law as derived from the criminal law of civilized nations," that the fundamental principles of jurisprudence are not merely whimsies of pettifogging lawyers or, as Lord Wright has put it, "pseudo-legal or legalistic rules having no basis in the common conscience of mankind." Observance of these principles is not merely the craft of the legal guild; the doctrine of law is not a professional artifice but the guaranty of the freedom of all the citizens.

It is regrettable that the Indictment, which conforms neither to the principles of law in general nor to the principles of international or criminal law in particular, as these are "derived from the criminal law of all civilized nations," should not be in accordance with the first principle of all justice—impartiality and disinterestedness. Prior to Hugo Grotius the victors had the "right" to punish the vanquished, but in our age it seems strange that an International Court composed exclusively of the victor powers should pass judgment on the war criminals of the vanquished. It is true, however, that one of the judges, Professor Donnedieu de Vabres, may be considered impartial, since he insisted in one of his books that the democratic states should accept the criminal policy of the authoritarian governments!

Moreover, it is the charter establishing this International Military Tribunal which "defines" the crimes for which the war criminals are going to be tried—if the words "other inhuman acts committed against any civilian population, before [how long before?] or during the war" can be termed a definition at all. According to the late Elihu Root, "If the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

law of nations is to be respected, the theory upon which the criminal law is founded must be adopted in respect to offenses against international law."

Thus far no authoritative attempt has been made, in custom or in general practice, to extend the precepts of international law—the sources of which are listed in Article 38 of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice—to cover the condemned and forbidden conduct of individuals. After the assassinations at Marseilles the French government suggested that the League of Nations set up an International Criminal Court, but to no avail; and as one of the greatest American authorities, Manley O. Hudson, has said ("International Tribunals," 1944, p. 186), "The time is hardly ripe for the extension of international law to include judicial process for condemning and punishing acts either of states or individuals." The jurisdiction of the International Military Tribunal can therefore scarcely be said to rest on a firm basis, since its charter, like all rules of international law, requires acceptance by the customs of all civilized nations. Even if we agree with Viscount Simon, former Lord Chancellor of England, who said on March 20 last in the House of Lords that a "properly constituted military court has jurisdiction in an occupied country to deal with war crimes," the competence of such a court with regard to "crimes against peace and humanity" is doubtful. There is no reason whatever why a German who murdered or enslaved anyone in Germany should not be tried by a German court. Lord Wright, one of the judges at Nürnberg, wrote: "We are proud that we live under the rule of law and of the legal machinery for enforcing it." I wonder whether we should be proud of the rules of procedure which the prosecutors appointed by the victor powers have agreed upon.

Even more contrary to the principles of criminal law and as unprecedented in the non-authoritarian part of the world is the determination of what should be considered "crime" by the victors, that is, by the prosecutors, as it appears from the report of Justice Jackson to the President and the definition of the "crimes" in the charter. A liberal German scholar, Franz von Liszt, termed the penal code the Magna Charta of the criminal; certainly it is the Magna Charta of the honest citizen, whom it protects against the arbitrariness of the authorities. A fundamental principle of law is that the law should decide the punishment and define as precisely as possible the acts constituting the punishable crime. But the charter not only leaves to the tribunal, as Viscount Simon expressed it, "the prodigious responsibility to select the punishment" but defines the crimes in a legally inexact, indeed in an appallingly vague, manner. Article 6, Point C, of the charter speaks of "crimes against humanity," namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, etc. Murder, which by the law is no crime against humanity but against human life, is defined very differently in the English Common Law and in the French Penal Code. Who is going to decide what was an "inhumane act" twenty years before the war? If the International Military Tribunal does so, what differentiates it from Hitler's law courts, where the judge passed sentence according to the "sound sense of the people"?

Count I of the Indictment is a "common plan or conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity." Leaders and accomplices are "individually responsible for their own acts and for all acts committed by any persons in the execution of such plan or conspiracy." In plain language, the collective responsibility that prevailed in the tribal age of mankind is restored, in spite of the principle, recognized even by Roman law, that "a society cannot commit crimes." It took a long time for the recognition of responsibility for criminal guilt to become "the basic principle of the judicial and legal system of Western civilization in the last century" (Sutherland, "Principles of Criminology," 1939, p. 352). In violation of this fundamental principle all participants of the conspiracy are being indicted not only for their own acts but for those of other conspirators, no matter whether they knew of them or not. This is all the more reprehensible as the crime termed "common plan or conspiracy" embraces also all crimes against peace, all war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

This means, for example, that Gustav Krupp von Bohlen—or perhaps his son, who has become a criminal according to the rules of the Pentateuch, which visit the sins of the fathers upon their sons—having helped the Nazis to power and used labor for the conduct of an aggressive war, is supposed to be responsible for all murders and other horrors perpetrated by any Gestapo or S. A. man, even if he is unaware where, when, and by whom these crimes were committed.

Collective responsibility hinges on the crime against peace, which is "defined" as planning, preparing, or waging a war of aggression or participating in the planning of such war. We are not told exactly what constitutes an "aggressive war," but the facts substantiating this crime are all political and military events that occurred after the foundation of the Nazi Party in 1920. We may take it for granted that the outrageous deeds of the Nazi regime, as a report to the President assumed, offended the conscience of the American people, who "viewed the Nazis as a band of brigands." However, the United States maintained diplomatic relations with this "band of brigands" up to Pearl Harbor without, apparently, preventing the execution of "the Nazi master plan."

We are told that only acts should be punished "which have been regarded as criminal since the time of Cain." Many despots, tyrants, and dictators have indeed committed atrocities which from time immemorial have been considered crimes. But in no country has the planning or waging of aggressive war ever been tried by a law court.

Autant pis, some people may say. If aggressive war thus far has been no crime, it is certainly desirable that it should be made punishable. Whether the charter has the authority to fill this *lacuna* is doubtful. But such legislation cannot be made retroactive anyway—not only because Article 9 of the Constitution of the United States interdicts ex post facto laws but because all tyrants from Nero to Hitler have used retroactivity, as Professor Lauterpacht puts it, "for cloaking arbitrariness in the garb of law." But this is exactly what the Indictment is doing. One of its authors, Justice Jackson, asserts the contrary and as evidence refers to the Briand-Kellogg pact of 1928, which outlawed war, and to the Geneva Protocol of 1924 and the Resolution of the Pan-American Conference of 1928, both of which declared that war of aggression is an international crime. This argument, however, is fallacious in two ways. The Nazi Party and its subsidiary organizations, founded in 1920, became "the instru-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of cohesion among the defendants and their co-conspirators" (Indictment, Count I, 4, A). In other words, the accusation refers in part to action predating the above-quoted international conventions, which declared aggressive war to be an "international crime."

Assuming, however, that the conspiracy to wage an aggressive war continued after such a war had been declared a crime. It still cannot be ignored that "a conspiracy to commit a crime is a different offense from the crime that is the object of conspiracy" (W. Mack–W. B. Hale: "Corpus Juris," Vol. XII, p. 542). Now, crime is "a wrong directly or indirectly affecting the public to which the state has annexed certain punishments" ("Corpus Juris," Vol. XVI, p. 51), and the "guilty knowledge of the act done by the conspirators is a necessary element without proof of which there can be no conviction" ("Corpus Juris," Vol. XII, p. 552). Moreover, it is generally accepted that "a law providing punishment for an act which was criminal when done but for which no punishment was provided is ex post facto as to that act" ("Corpus Juris Secundum," W. Mack and D. J. Kiser, Vol. XVI, p. 8892). Can it be sanely assumed that all members of the Nazi Party "with knowledge of its aims and purposes became an accessory," to the murder of all the four million persons exterminated in Maidanek? After all, no crime can exist without the combination of a criminal act and criminal intent ("Judicial and Statutory Definition of Words and Phrases," Third Series, II, p. 694). To be made responsible for all the war crimes and crimes against humanity specified in Counts III and IV, the knowledge of the aims and ends of the party, the Gestapo, and the S. A. or S. S. is scarcely sufficient, since to be an accomplice, an accessory, or an abettor the knowledge in each and every case of when, where, and by whom the crime was committed is an irremissible element unless we accept the Hitlerian principle of presuming a future guilt.

There are other principles of law and jurisprudence with which the Indictment is at variance, but the violation of non-retroactivity sets the most dangerous example. Patrick Gordon Walker, speaking over the B. B. C., acknowledged that the acts which the defendants are accused of were not deemed crimes, but he thought the Indictment contained not an infringement but the establishment of a rule of law. However, no law can be established by violating the elementary principles on which both law and human civilization rest. It is not a lawyer's crotchet to insist on these principles. Recklessly to disregard them is to threaten the very foundation of our social life. Maintenance of law is of permanent interest; revolutions are transitory episodes in the history of human society. In liquidating revolutions legal means are unfit instruments unless they help to restore pre-revolutionary law and order. Observing legal formalities while ignoring the essence of legal principles necessarily results in atrocities against justice itself.

In Kipling's poem, "Norman and Saxon, A.D. 1100," we have been told:

> The Saxon is not like us Normans.
> His manners are not so polite.
> But he never means anything serious
> Till he talks about justice and right.

Is the Nürnberg trial going to dispute this statement?

The People's Front

[Last week Mr. del Vayo described the sudden attack on the Spanish Republican government launched in the Cortes by Indalecio Prieto, the man chiefly responsible for the composition of the Cabinet. The opposition, led by Dr. Negrin, promptly protested his action in a message addressed to the President of the Republic. This dispatch discusses the further consequences of the Prieto maneuver.]

Mexico City, November 23

THE parliamentary opposition gave President Martínez Barrio a week's grace in which to reply to its message, after which the text was published. Although respectful in tone, it amounts to a severe criticism of the government's policy, which in the three months since Giral's appointment as Premier has been increasingly feeble. The tables have been turned. Each day the government becomes weaker and the opposition stronger. But the opposition itself has been inhibited in action by its fear of causing damage to the Republic. The opposition would like to see the Cabinet either strengthened or replaced, but it does not want it to fall as a result of the maneuver of *"los liquidadores"* (the Prieto faction). The message presented to President Martínez Barrio is a last appeal from the opposition to the men who, under the constitution, can change the present course. It says: "Faced with a grave reality which is contrary to our most fervent hopes, it is our duty to inform Your Excellency that up to November 8 [the day Prieto delivered his speech in the Cortes] we believed we might be wrong in our judgment, and even hoped so. Since that date, it has been impossible to go on juggling fear with hope, sentiment with anguish, lest failure and even disloyalty bring down the Republic in collapse or subject Republican institutions to ridicule, and also place in an awkward position the nations which have recognized us. We cannot and will not participate in this. It is the prerogative of Your Excellency to prevent this havoc. In exercising that prerogative, we wish you success. If no move to save the situation is taken, it is our unalterable decision to regain our freedom of action and to defend the Republic and its institutions by whatever means are within our reach."

This document was presented to the President on November 13. Today the answer finally came, and it proved a vague and disappointing one, containing no hint that any immediate action was contemplated but criticizing the opposition for not having fought harder in the Cortes—an amusing reproach coming from that source. Actually the only solution would be to remove from the Cabinet the two Ministers who represent Prieto's faction. That is the very minimum that must be done, especially since Prieto, not satisfied with his speech in the Cortes, repeated the other day in an interview in the newspaper *Excelsior* that the moment an alternative to the Republican government in exile presented itself, his group would consider itself free to withdraw its support from the government. Surely, Prieto would proclaim himself the first and best of the Republicans; but it should be noted that even among some of his own followers his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speech was very badly received. They are anti-Communists, and they hate Negrín because Prieto hates him, but they are Socialists and do not want the Socialist Party identified with a policy of capitulation. They fear an agreement between Negrín and Largo Caballero, the old Socialist leader, who only six months ago was the idol of the *New Leader* and Matthew Woll, and who now is in imminent danger of being called a fellow-traveler. Last Saturday, at a meeting of the Prieto group here, it was said, although still in very respectful and cordial terms, that since Caballero had been in a German concentration camp for three years, he "must have lost his contact with the reality of the Spanish situation." Caballero's position regarding the Communists is coming closer to that of the Negrín group. He believes that until the liberation of Spain is achieved, all the anti-fascist forces which fought during the Spanish war must be kept together.

In the *Excelsior* interview, more specifically than in the Cortes, Prieto advocated a plebiscite under the control of the Latin American republics and suggested that a proposal to this effect be presented at the next Pan-American conference.

The plebiscite idea is not new to Prieto. He presented it in a speech in Havana in July, 1942, and during the past three years he has revived it several times amid a tempest of protests from the Spanish emigration. The idea is wrapped in a sophisticated argument designed to keep us quiet. "What kind of Republicans are they who doubt the outcome of a plebiscite?" asks Prieto. But the rest of us know that such a plebiscite would only help the Monarchists and the fascist successors of Franco. For almost ten years in a great part of Spain and for more than six years in all of Spain the people have lived under terror. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards have died, physically or morally, or have been twisted by the worst kind of totalitarian propaganda—propaganda full of slander and lies against the Republic and its men. A plebiscite taken before the Republic is restored and the fascist organization destroyed, before the Spaniards are reintegrated in a normal civil and political life, would be, in the words of a Republican friend, a "grotesque proposition." A plebiscite taking place under the supervision of other nations—even though they are close to us in sentiment and culture as are the Latin American countries—is unacceptable to us. Spain is not a country to accept tutelage, any more than are her sister republics of South America, which would also decline our tutelage in solving their internal disputes. It is a further question whether all the Latin American countries have been so free from dictatorial influence in the last two decades that they could be set up as arbiters of a war between the Spanish people and fascism—a war which is yet to be ended and won. "I denounce," Negrín has said, "this plebiscite proposal as the continuation of that defeatism which nullified the efforts of our brave fighters, of that policy of capitulation which brought our war to an ignoble end and sacrificed the Spanish people, of that conformism which is equally ready to accept the republic or the monarchy. . . . I call attention to a treachery which might overwhelm Spain—as it did France." The acclamation with which his words were received was really a plebiscite against the *liquidadores*.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Scarce Minerals and Tariffs

BELIEVING that the mineral resources of the United States have become so depleted that national military strength and economic standards are both endangered, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes urges in the December issue of the *American* the necessity of a broad conservation program. "We must begin at once," he says:

> To stockpile minerals;
> To explore our country more intensively than ever before;
> To hunt for better methods of recovering metal from scrap;
> To have access, in common with other peacefully disposed nations, to minerals in lands that have been conquered in the recent war, for from now on we shall be increasingly dependent on imports for our minerals.

To take the last point first, I feel Mr. Ickes should have been a little more explicit. The chief countries conquered in the war are Germany and Japan, which, as he notes elsewhere in his article, are "have-not" nations so far as minerals are concerned. Other foreign resources are not in any way barred to American consumers though they, in common with all consumers, have sometimes been forced to pay a hold-up price by monopolies and cartels. In the case, however, of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, and manganese, all vitally important metals in peace or war, the chief obstacle to imports is the American tariff, imposed for the protection of high-cost American producers of these minerals.

Economically, as Professor Percy W. Bidwell has pointed out in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, it is very hard to justify tariff duties on the products of extractive industries. It is not possible to urge, as it is in the case of "an infant industry," that given temporary shelter a mine will expand and increase its efficiency. No amount of protection can turn low-grade ore into high-grade, but by adding to profits it encourages mine owners to work their best seams while the going is good. It does, of course, also enable some low-grade operations which might not have been undertaken at all to be carried on, but it does this at the expense of the metal-using industries, which, by and large, are America's most efficient producers and the ones giving the highest return to the nation per man-hour of labor. Free trade in metals, which would enable such industries to obtain their raw materials at competitive world prices, would mean more economical use of our total resources. It would involve, naturally, the closing of mines whose costs of production were above world prices, but that, in turn, would preserve underground a stock of marginal and submarginal ores for use in an emergency.

In his magazine article, the Secretary of the Interior does not mention the tariff though he asserts that we shall have to import copper, lead, zinc, and other metals "in larger and larger quantities" if our chromium-plated civilization is to be preserved. However, he declares that conservation by closing mines would be wasteful because it would make impossible the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recovery of much ore already developed. Moreover, the social cost involved in the collapse of many mining communities would also be very high. Since the abolition of the tariff would have such effects in many cases, Mr. Ickes must either favor its maintenance or support the alternative method of insuring his objective—a continuance of the war-time subsidy system.

If uneconomic mining operations are considered vital to the national interest, their direct support by the taxpayers is preferable to their indirect support through tariffs. For one thing, subsidies can be graduated, as they have been during the war, so as to encourage the use of low-grade ores without offering bonanza profits to cheap producers. Thus during the past few years some 75 per cent of the domestic copper mined has been raised without subsidy and profitably sold at the ceiling price of 12 cents a pound. But the production of the marginal 25 per cent, which could not be spared when war requirements called for every possible ounce of the metal, would not have been forthcoming without additional incentive payments. If the problem of including extra production had been left to the forces of supply and demand, as it was in World War I, the price of copper might easily have risen to 30 cents, making a large addition to total war costs. Thanks to subsidies, the average cost to the government was under 14 cents a pound.

Mr. Ickes does not directly advocate subsidies though he does say that private industry should be given government aid to enable it to carry on exploration and research. His stockpile scheme might also be linked to a subsidy program, as he proposes that a large national inventory of metals be built up by purchases in times of depression. This would help to stabilize both prices and employment. During the war the government has accumulated such a stockpile, which could form the nucleus of a permanent reserve.

The question arises: Should such a reserve be held inviolate, for use in emergency only, or should it be operated on an "ever-normal-granary" basis? That is to say, should its managers release metals for the market when supplies were tight and prices booming, as well as absorb them when commercial demand was weak and prices falling? In a nationally planned economy we would certainly need to take some such action in order to stabilize the mining industry, but managed metal prices are not going to be popular with business in general or mine operators in particular. Moreover, the United States is on record as strongly opposed to foreign attempts to hold prices at a profitable level by such means.

I have raised such points not in criticism of Mr. Ickes but in the hope that in some future article he will go into the subject more thoroughly. Particularly I would like to see him review it on an international rather than a national basis. For the problem of declining mineral resources is one for all peoples. America's reserves have shrunk more rapidly than those of some other nations mainly because its standard of living calls for a per capita consumption of metals enormously greater than that of any other country. But if, as we hope, average standards throughout the world are raised within the next generation to even as little as a quarter of the American level, the question of the adequacy of global reserves may well become a burning one.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Education of Evans Carlson

BY CAREY MC WILLIAMS

(A contributing editor of The Nation*)*

Los Angeles, November 21

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1945, California newspapers carried an inconspicuous paragraph announcing that the Point Loma Democratic Club of San Diego had gone on record as urging Colonel Evans Fordyce Carlson, of Carlson's Raiders fame, "to make himself available for the position of United States Senator from California in 1946." Other Democratic clubs in San Diego promptly echoed the resolution. While Colonel Carlson has not agreed to run, he has expressed "a very real sense of obligation to work in the post-war years for the full realization of the objectives for which we fought the recent global war," and he has said that he expects to be released from active service as soon as his present hospitalization at the San Diego Naval Hospital is completed. This has proved sufficient encouragement for the San Diego Democrats, and a Carlson-for-Senator movement is now under way in California.

The "talk about Carlson" in California politics has an interesting genesis. On his release from the Marine Corps, Michael Blankfort, the Hollywood screen writer and novelist—at present engaged on a biography of Colonel Carlson—wrote several letters to Robert Walker Kenny, Attorney General of California, calling attention to the great political possibilities of Carlson. Though accustomed to discount such suggestions, Kenny met Blankfort at the California Club in Los Angeles and was apparently convinced without too great difficulty that Carlson was "a great guy." By midnight they were both on the telephone rousing Hollywood liberals from their sleep to announce the new political discovery. Since then the "talk about Carlson" has been persistent and increasingly enthusiastic. Recently I drove down to Escondido to spend a Sunday with Colonel Carlson, with the intention of finding out, if possible, how a professional soldier had managed to acquire a democratic social, economic, and political philosophy.

A NEW KIND OF DEMOCRAT

Colonel Carlson is not the easiest person in the world to interview. Since he is still in the service, he cannot take part in political activity, and he scrupulously respects this restriction. But he is quite willing, painfully modest man that he is, to talk about his experience with people in China and Nicaragua. Ironically, the education of Evans Carlson in democracy has taken place outside the United States. I am

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

convinced that this education has been unusually thorough and that his unique experience has revealed to him a basic weakness in our conception of democracy. Should he run for the Senate, as I believe he will, he will represent a new kind of democrat in American politics. To understand his point of view, it is necessary to know something about his career—about his education in realism.

Although Colonel Carlson was born in Vermont, a distinct handicap in California politics, he has his roots deep in California. His father was "the first white child born in Alpine County, California"—Native Sons and Daughters please note—and was christened Thomas *Alpine* Carlson. Still living, the father is a retired minister of the Congregational faith. That Colonel Carlson is the son of a minister provides, I believe, the first clue to an understanding of the man. Point Loma Democrats have stressed his "moral integrity" and his "ethical qualifications for public leadership," and these are the qualities one first notices in him. One gathers, however, that Colonel Carlson at an early age became dissatisfied with some of the answers given by his father to his questions about matters of faith, for at sixteen he ran away from home and enlisted in the army.

He served as a private with a field-artillery unit in the Philippines and Hawaii from 1912 to 1915. When his period of enlistment was up, he was advised to apply for a commission, but was rejected when, for the first time, he revealed his true age. After working for a year or so as an engineer with the Highway Commission in Riverside, California, he reentered the army in 1916 for service on the Mexican border. Commissioned a second lieutenant in 1917, he was later promoted to first lieutenant and then to captain, served in France with the Eighty-seventh Division, and for a time was Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Army (the army of occupation). In 1919 he resigned his commission and got a job in California. A few years later he entered the Marine Corps, becoming a captain in 1935. It was in the Marine Corps that his real education began.

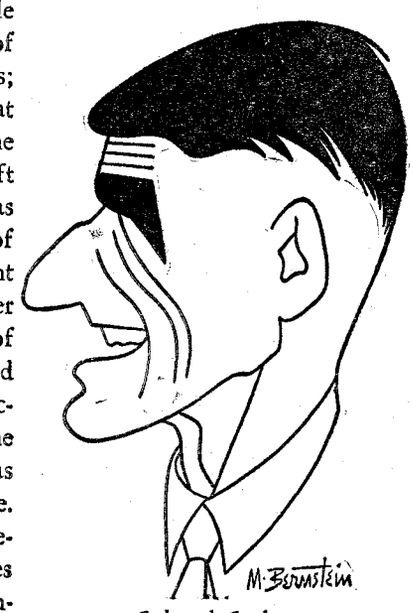
SHANGHAI AND NICARAGUA

Attached to the staff of Major (now General) Vandergrift, Carlson accompanied the Third Battalion, Fourth Marines, to Shanghai in 1927, and served as regimental intelligence officer there until 1929. As an intelligence officer, he believed that it was incumbent upon him to know something about China—its people, its customs, its politics, and its culture. This first assignment in China was therefore really a freshman course in Far Eastern affairs.

In 1930 Carlson applied for service with the Guardia Nacional in Nicaragua, giving as his reason a desire to work with native peoples. His experience in Nicaragua supplied the second chapter of his socio-economic education. Among his assignments was a term as chief of police of a Nicaraguan town. Since the agreement under which the marines were in Nicaragua stipulated that the courts were not under our control, the judges reflected the prevailing anti-Yankee sentiment of the people and Carlson found it extremely difficult to secure convictions. Realizing that the courts would not cooperate, he decided to take the problem of law enforcement directly to the people. First of all he sought to win their confidence by demonstrating that the rich and well-born were not immune from arrest—something of a novelty in Nicaraguan life. He also set about establishing direct, personal contact with the people, and to this end proceeded to teach himself the language.

"YOU CAN TRUST THE PEOPLE"

Before his term of office was over, he was functioning as chief dispenser of justice and personal adviser to the people. It was in Nicaragua that he first got a pervading sense of confidence in the people and in the workings of the democratic process; he learned, he says, that "you can trust 'the people.'" When he left Nicaragua, he was awarded the medal of Merit by the President for his relief work after the earthquake of March 31, 1931, and the Medal of Distinction as a token of the esteem in which he was held by the people. Listening to him recount his experiences with all sorts and conditions of people in Nicaragua, one realizes that for him Nicaragua was a fine training school in the techniques of democratic leadership.



Colonel Carlson

Returning to China in 1933, Carlson resumed his post as intelligence officer at Shanghai. During his previous assignment in China (1927-29) he had closely studied the Kuomintang government then being established in Nanking. Now he requested a transfer to Peking so that he might have a better opportunity to study the Chinese language and the cultural and historical background of the Chinese people. From 1933 to 1935 he served as adjutant of the guard at the Peking legation. One might assume that such an experience would tend to make a man an authoritarian, but for Carlson, who carried a well-worn edition of Emerson's "Essays" on all his travels, these were particularly fruitful years.

When he first went to Peking, the marines spent most of their leisure hours carousing and pushing Chinese "coolies" off the street. Carlson thought it would be a good idea to cultivate their interest in China and thereby improve their morals. With the assistance of his old friend, Edgar Snow, he organized a forum program for the marines which soon became a popular adult-education center. He even induced the men to learn a little Chinese. Once the marines were assigned the task of digging a deep excavation for an installation. Knowing that the site had archaeological interest, Carlson got the men interested in what they might discover. As the excavation proceeded, they found and carefully preserved numerous coins, artifacts, ceramics fragments, and the like. All these items were laid aside, catalogued by experts in the presence of the men, and later shown as a special Marine Corps exhibit. For Carlson, these years in Peking were a kind of post-graduate course in Chinese history and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

culture. Among his personal acquisitions was an expert knowledge of Chinese ceramics.

Back in America in 1935 Carlson served as aide-de-camp to General Charles H. Lyman at Quantico and got permission to attend night classes at George Washington University in international law and politics, with special emphasis on the Far East. As part of his studies he wrote a thesis on Japanese expansion which concluded with a prediction that in the near future Japan would attack the United States. In November of 1935 Carlson became commander of the Marine detachment assigned to guard President Roosevelt at Warm Springs. It was there that he got to know the President as a friend. Although it is not generally known, Carlson served the President as a special intelligence officer on Far Eastern affairs when he returned to China in 1937, reporting directly to the White House.

THE LESSON OF YENAN

During this third assignment in China Carlson was an observer with the Chinese armies at the battles of Nanking and Hankow. On his own initiative he covered more than 2,500 miles with the Chinese Communist forces behind the Japanese lines in North China and Mongolia, the first foreign military observer to study the tactics and training methods of these famous guerrilla fighters. His experience was graphically described in his book "Twin Stars of China," published by Dodd, Mead in 1940. Of particular interest are his accounts of his interviews with such leaders as Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, and Chow En-lai. From his experience in North China, superimposed on his Nicaraguan experience, Carlson got the ideas about democratic indoctrination and training that he put to such effective use in his Marine Raider Battalion.

Carlson resigned from the service in 1938 to join the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression—the Stimson committee—which was trying to mobilize American opinion to demand an embargo on the shipment of scrap iron and war materials to Japan. In a speech before the Foreign Policy Association in Boston on March 2, 1940, he warned against "a surprise attack from the air," which he characterized as "more imminent than a surprise attack through any other medium," urged an ethical indoctrination of our military personnel, and called for a foreign policy "designed to convince other nations of our desire to meet them on terms of equality, which will assure them of our integrity, of our sense of justice, and of our good-will toward all nations."

In July, 1940, he returned to China to make a four-thousand-mile tour of the Chinese industrial cooperatives with Rewi Alley. He interviewed Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking and continued to report directly to President Roosevelt on Chinese affairs. Early in 1941 he hastened back to America convinced that Japan intended to strike soon for Singapore. Commissioned a major in the Marine Corps in April, 1941, he later organized the famous Second Marine Raider Battalion of Gung-ho fame. He landed with the Second Marine Division at Tarawa, accompanied the assault units in the Marshall Islands operations, and took part in the battle for Saipan, where he was wounded. He has received about all the decorations the services have to offer—the Navy Cross (three times), the Legion of Merit, two Purple Hearts, and three Presidential Unit Citations, for Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and Saipan.

UNIQUE QUALIFICATIONS FOR SENATOR

It is apparent that Colonel Carlson would bring to the United States Senate some unique qualifications—an expert knowledge of Far Eastern and Central American affairs and of the people of those areas, an expert knowledge of our military establishment together with some ideas about the necessity for democratizing the services, a realistic knowledge of the kind of world we live in, a profound faith in democracy, and great skill, based on wide experience, in the techniques of democratic leadership. After Hiram Johnson, James Phelan, and Samuel Shortridge, who did so much to undermine American prestige in Asia, California might well take pride in a Senator who actually understood the peoples of the Far East. (A Senator who speaks both Chinese and Spanish would be, I take it, a rather exceptional figure on the hill.)

In the course of our conversation Colonel Carlson said that the American people must renounce the "success myth," with its emphasis on individual achievement, and acquire something that they now seem to lack, namely, a sense of identification with the democratic process. By this he means not merely the formal identification expressed by going to the polls at stated intervals to cast a ballot but a living, creative, participating identification with democratic processes in personal and family relationships and social conduct. He constantly emphasizes the necessity for self-discipline in a democracy, the kind of self-discipline that he found in the Eighth Route Army. Essentially, his concept of democracy is that of John Collier—"democracy livingly, immanently experienced." Both men apparently acquired this concept of democracy from their experience with non-industrial, or rather pre-industrial, peoples; Collier from his life among American Indians, Carlson in Nicaragua and China. It is a concept of democracy that industrialism has damagingly corroded in the Western democracies and that only the vigorous self-discipline advocated by Colonel Carlson seems able to restore.

Recently I asked Staff Sergeant Willard D. Darling for his impressions of the Colonel. In reply he wrote: "I find that words are of no use to me. When the Colonel is mentioned you don't think, you feel things inside of you that you were not aware of, that become a part of your life while you are with him. There was never a man who left his outfit who did not grit his teeth to keep the tears back, and some couldn't. He is the kind of man you would go to hell for should he tell you to, and never ask the reason why." A man who can inspire this feeling in those he commands has demonstrated his capacity for democratic leadership. Colonel Carlson frequently quotes these words from a speech which President Roosevelt was prevented by death from delivering: "Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace." Our problem, in other words, is to create a real democracy based upon individual self-discipline and cooperative effort.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Houghton Mifflin Company's **Gift Guide** *Books to cure a Christmas headache*

	Fiction			Non-Fiction		
	Romance	Froth	Chills	The past	The present	Timeless
Heavy Thinker	Best American Short Stories Children of the Covenant Swing Low	Looking for a Bluebird Hunky Johnny The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith	Beneath the Stone	Thomas Jefferson Raw Material Against These Three	Europe in Revolution One Nation More Lives Than One	The Practical Cogitator The Wisdom Tree Encyclopedia of World History
Returned Hero	Hunky Johnny Written in Sand Birth of Mischief It's a Free Country The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith Hurry Home to My Heart The Private Adventure of Captain Shaw	Outside Eden Suds in Your Eye High Time Country Mouse	Bedelia Leave Her to Heaven Beneath the Stone Who Wants to Live Forever? The Valley of Dry Bones	Slow Train to Yesterday Thomas Jefferson Against These Three Elizabeth & Leicester	House of Europe Gumbo-Ya-Ya When Johnny Comes Marching Home More Lives Than One	The Practical Cogitator The Wisdom Tree The Garden Dictionary
Highbrow Harriet	Best American Short Stories The Far Away Music Swing Low, The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith Hunky Johnny Children of the Covenant	Looking for a Bluebird Outside Eden	Bedelia Beneath the Stone	Thomas Jefferson Against These Three Elizabeth & Leicester	Gumbo Ya-Ya One Nation More Lives Than One Where Do People Take Their Troubles?	The Practical Cogitator The Wisdom Tree
Best Seller Fan	Jennifer's House The Far Away Music The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith The Birth of Mischief	Looking for a Bluebird Outside Eden Suds in Your Eye High Time Country Mouse	Leave Her to Heaven	Thomas Jefferson Against These Three	Gumbo Ya-Ya The Great Answer	The Practical Cogitator
Ivory Tower Tenant	Portrait of a Lady My Antonia Mirror for Witches U.S.A. Tale of Genji	Their Wedding Journey Marjorie Daw	Midnight on the 31st of March Number One Elsie Venner	Patterns of Culture Mont St. Michel and Chartres Maritime History of Massachusetts Audubon's America	Looking Backward Mein Kampf	Selected Works of Thoreau (Canby) Selected Works of MacLeish Road to Xanadu
Lending Library Liz	Private Adventure of Captain Shaw Jennifer's House The Birth of Mischief The World, the Flesh and Father Smith Hurry Home to My Heart Hunky Johnny Red Fruit	Outside Eden Suds in Your Eye High Time Country Mouse	Leave Her to Heaven Bedelia	Elizabeth & Leicester	Where Do People Take Their Troubles? The Great Answer	Mrs. Appleyard's Kitchen
Radio Readers	*Paddle to the Sea* The House of Seven Gables Johnny Tremaine	*Peterkin Papers* Tales From Uncle Remus	*Smoke Jumper* Adventures of Richard Hanney Adventurers All	*Tree in the Trail* A Picture History of Britain The Story of a Bad Boy Two Years Before the Mast Log of a Cowboy	The Moved-Outers Sky Highways	A Natural History of Birds Anthology of Children's Literature Field Guide to Birds
Man of 1960	Pecos Bill Don Coyote The Little House Jack Tales	Anybody at Home? Feed the Animals Where's My Baby? The Little Red Hen	Katie and the Big Snow The Big Fire	Little History of the United States	Ilenka Little Georg What Makes it Tick?	Prayer for Little Things Very Young Verses Anthology of Children's Literature

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PILOTS, MAN YOUR PLANES

BY RANDALL JARRELL

(A Jill is a Japanese torpedo-plane)
Dawn; and the jew's-harp's sawing seesaw song
Plucks at the starlight where the planes are folded
At the lee of their blank, wind-whipped, hunting road—
A road in air, the road to nowhere
Turreted and bucketed with guns, long undermined
With the thousand necessary deaths that breathe
Like fire beside a thousand men, who sleep
Hunched in the punk of Death: slow, dreaming sparks
That burrow through the block-long, light-split gloom
Of their great hangar underground and oversea
Into the great tanks, dark forever; past the steam
Of turbines, laundries—under rockets,
Bakeries, war-heads, the steel watch-like fish,
To the hull's last plates and atmosphere:
The sea sways with the dazed, blind, groping sway
Of the raw soul drugged with sleep, the chancy life
Troubling with dreams its wars, its own earned sea
That stretches year on year, death after death,
And hemisphere on blind black hemisphere
Into the stubborn corners of its earth.
Here in the poor, bleak, guessing haze of dawn
The giant's jew's-harp screeches its two notes
Over and over, over and over; from the roar
Of the fighters waved into the blazing clouds
The lookout lifts his scrubbed tetanic stare
Into the East of light, the empty day.
But on the tubes the raiders oscillate
A mile in every nine or thirteen seconds
To the target's first premonitory bursts;
To the boy with a ball of coffee in his stomach,
Snapping the great light buckles on his groin,
Shifting his raft's hot-water-bottle weight
As he breasts the currents of the bellowing deck
And, locked at last into the bubble, Hope,
Is borne along the foaming windy road
To the air where he alone is still
Above the world's cold, absent, searching roll.
The carrier meshed in its white whirling wake,
The gray ship sparkling from the blue-black sea,
The little carrier—erupts in flak,
One hammering, hysterical, tremendous fire.
Flickering through flashes, the stained rolling clouds,
The air jarred like water tilted in a bowl,
The red wriggling tracers—colonies
Whose instant life annexes the whole sky—
Hunt out the one end they have being for,
Are metamorphosed into one pure smear
Of flame, and die
In the maniacal convulsive spin
Of the raider with a wing snapped off, the plane
Trailing its flaming kite's-tail to the wave.
A miss's near, near bloom, a hill of foam,
Is bulged skyward, crashes back; crest after crest
Patterns the ships' cat's-cradle wakes, the racing
Swells that hiss outward from a plane's quenched flame:
There is traced in the thousand meetings of the grave
Of matter and of matter, man and man,
The print of the running feet upon the waves. . . .
The Jill threads her long, blind, unbearable
Way into fire (the waves lick past her, her whole sky
Is tracer and the dirt of flak, the fire
Flung from the muzzles riddling sea and sky),
Comes on, comes on, comes on; and the fighter flames to her
Through his own flak, the hammering guns
Stitch one long line along his wing, his gear
Falls, his dive staggers as his tracer strikes,
And he breaks off and somersaults into the sea.
Under the canopy's dark strangling green,
The darkening canopy, he struggles free
To float into the choking white, to breathe—
His huge leg floating and immovable,
His goggles blackened with his own bright blood—
On the yellow raft, to see his carrier
Still firing, but itself a fire, its planes
Flung up like matches from the stern's white burst.
Now rockets arch above the deck's great blaze,
Shells break from it, trail after trail; its steel
Melts in steam into the sea, its tanks explode
In one last overwhelming sound; and silently
The ship, a flame, sinks home into the sea.
The pilot holds his striped head patiently
Up out of the dancing smother of the sea
And weeps with hatred, longing, agony—
The sea rises and settles; and the ship is gone.

The planes fly off looking for a carrier,
Destroyers curve in their long hunting arcs
Through the dead of the carrier: the dazed, vomiting,
Oil-blackened and fire-blistered, saved or dying men
Cling with cramped shaking fingers to the lines
Lowered from their old life: the pilot,
Drugged in a blanket, straining up to gulp
From the mug that scrapes like chalk against his mouth,
Knows, knows at last; he yawns the chattering yawn
Of effort and anguish, of hurt hating helplessness—
Yawns sobbingly, his head falls back, he sleeps.

RANDALL JARRELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PORTRAIT OF NEW ENGLAND

BY LOUISE BOGAN

THE BOSTONIANS. By Henry James. With an Introduction by Philip Rahv. The Dial Press. $3.

"THE BOSTONIANS," evidently written sometime between James's fortieth and forty-second year, serialized in the *Century Magazine* in 1885, published in both England and America in 1886, has never until now been reprinted in an American edition. Its non-appearance in the Collected Edition (Scribner's, 1907-17) has raised various questions, chiefly concerned with James's apparent later squeamishness toward the frank insight of his early work. Whatever the reason, James never rewrote the book, as he did some others. It stands, therefore, as perfect "early James." That it has not become, and will never become, a "period piece"—a novel irremediably of its time, an outmoded lump of costume drama—can be put down to the fact that James, in his early forties, "knew the world." "The Bostonians" is shot through with the lights of humor, with the satire of a detached, experienced, disabused, civilized intelligence. Far out of the milieu he presented, James drew the picture of Boston in the '70's with the greatest variety of detail, the utmost vivacity of presentation. He is grinding no ax, shedding no tears, driving through points without fanaticism. His separation from his material gives him a freedom that is almost the freedom of an expert in some sport; James often, here, plays a wide, high, and handsome kind of game. The underlying tone of the book is gay—the tone of high comedy.

The title is not to be applied to the inhabitants of Boston in the large. James makes it clear that his "Bostonians" are two young women—Olive Chancellor, of a certain position and means, "a spinster, as Shelley was a lyric poet or as the month of August is sultry," living on the water side of Charles Street; and Verena Tarrant, the daughter of a mesmerist and all-round charlatan, who lives in a wooden cottage "with a little naked piazza," on an unpaved "place" in Cambridge. Verena has a "gift"—the gift of eloquence. She is able to move audiences, speaking inanities in a voice that James compares to both silver and gold. She is, that is, a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of that influential American figure the platform orator. Got up in a costume resembling that of a circus rider, she opens her pretty mouth and exerts her fresh and genuine charm upon a variety of audiences in the cause of women's rights. Olive is, by contrast, a far more complicated character. A woman of distinction (James insists on this throughout), no fool, completely in earnest in her desire to establish some contact with "the toilers"—the workers who, she senses, touch reality beyond and "beneath" the layer of middle-class vulgarians she despises, Olive is yet sterilized by an aridity of spirit, baffled by genteel prejudices, and warped by a nervous constitution. Set against James's portrait of a woman reformer of an earlier period—the warm-hearted, eccentric, but touching Miss Birdseye—Olive Chancellor is a rather terrifying resultant of Puritanism gone to seed, a female organism driven by a masculine will, without the saving graces of masculine intelligence or feminine tenderness and insight.

These two young women move in a tepid atmosphere of post-Abolition idealism. It is an atmosphere still peopled by the cranks, faddists, cultists, evangelists, revolutionaries, and dogmatists so usual in America in the forties and fifties—the intellectual and emotional débris of the breakdown of faith, the beginning of the "scientific view," of the general ethos of still crude industrial and moral revolutions. James knew these visionaries, of all shades of sincerity and sanity, well; his father's New York home had been a sort of clearing-house for them. It is James's background of plain experience and accurate youthful observation which makes the revolutionaries in "The Princess Casamassima" so modernly recognizable and the cranks of "The Bostonians" so sharply alive. In these two books, written almost concurrently, James pays these characters his clear-sighted and ironic *devoirs*, and leaves them for good.

The "outside observer" in "The Bostonians" is, insolently and cleverly enough, a young man from the recently "conquered" South. Of first-rate intelligence, completely "unreconstructed," holding "unprogressive" ideals of manliness, courage, and chivalry, Basil Ransom, introduced into the midst of these, to him, vaporous ideas expressed by these decaying, except for Verena, personalities, has a civilized set of principles to fall back upon—principles that seem "medieval" to his cousin Olive and her "set." James's artistic and moral courage in setting, at the time, Ransom's "prejudices," Ransom's humorous and "feeling" nature, Ransom's underlying flexibility of outlook against the eerie and run-down New England prophets of "progress" and "change" cannot be underestimated. James had, it is true, Turgenev's example. Turgenev, earlier, had bent an artist's eye on the follies committed in the name of "progress" by the romantic Russian reformers and their allies in the middle class (he invented the term "nihilist"). "The Bostonians" loses nothing by being read along with "On the Eve" and "Rudin"; and Verena Tarrant often resembles a Turgenev heroine. But James, in describing her surroundings and giving her motives, is triumphantly on his own ground.

Ransom's pin-point sharpness of eye results in a sort of continual sparkle in the first part of the book. The young Mississippian does not hesitate to put a name to things; he sorts out the real from the artificial instantly. He spots the self-sufficient sincerity of the little woman doctor with the same swiftness with which he puts down Verena's father as a "carpet-bagger" and a "varlet." He sees through the pretentiousness of Mrs. Luna; and he does not fail to see true discrimination and an actual passion for justice in Olive, in spite of his quick recognition of her manias. James succeeds in keeping Ransom free from a romantic emphasis. As Philip Rahv, in his preface to this edition, says, "In the figure of Ransom [James] created with remarkable prescience a type of intellectual who has only in the last few decades come to the fore in the English-speaking world . . . a type, ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Debut of an American Classic

The Friendly Persuasion

by JESSAMYN WEST

THE FRIENDLY PERSUASION is a rare and beautiful adventure in reading. Jessamyn West has filled her book with the color of the Indiana countryside, with homely wisdom, with a love for people, and a gaiety and wit that flavor each chapter.

CHARLES LEE: "Her writing sings . . . No mere seasonal triumph . . . bears the hallmark of literature."

ASSOCIATED PRESS: "This is a most subtle and sensitive author, informed exhaustively about the human heart." *$2.50*

ALL TRIVIA

By LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH

Here are the "tremendous trifles," as Don Marquis called them, emended and revised by the author. *$2.50*

BLACK METROPOLIS

By St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. A study of Negro life in a Northern city. "Great . . . From cover to cover, this is a book of intellectual discipline and talent."—NEW REPUBLIC. Charts and diagrams, *$5.00*

VIRGINIA WOOLF

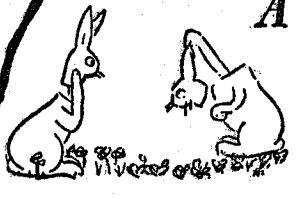
By Joan Bennett. Her art as a novelist. "Provocative . . . For it leads one at every point to the text of Virginia Woolf, to the special beauty and significance which it is the critic's duty to discover."—N. Y. TIMES. *$2.00*

TRIAL BALANCE

By William March. 55 of his stories, many of which have never appeared in book form, and several new ones published here for the first time. *$3.50*

JAMES THURBER

A Tale of Love and Magic and other Perils



THE WHITE DEER

With illustrations by the author and four pages in multi-color by Don Freeman. *$2.50*

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW SCRIBNER BOOKS
TO GIVE
TO READ • TO OWN

TERESA; OR HER DEMON LOVER
By AUSTIN K. GRAY

A brilliant and authoritative biography of Teresa, Countess Guiccioli, the last of Lord Byron's "ladies." "Deftly done, clever and highly entertaining."—*Orville Prescott, New York Times. Illustrated. Second printing.* $3.50

THE SHELLEY LEGEND
By ROBERT METCALF SMITH
In collaboration with Martha M. Schlegel, T. G. Ehrsam and L. A. Waters

A brilliant, provocative, and authoritative exposure of the mistaken efforts to turn the "romantic pagan" Shelley into a Victorian angel. An important contribution to Shelley biography. *Illustrated.* $5.00

THE FOREST OF THE SOUTH
By CAROLINE GORDON

Sixteen stories and a novella about the South and Southerners. "A very fine book . . solid, varied, delightful and original."—*Paul Engle, Chicago Tribune.* $2.50

FOR THEE THE BEST
By MARK ALDANOV

"A dryly humorous historical novel about the nationalistic Carborari movement in which Byron was associated. Byron steals every scene in which he appears, and is felt as a presence even when he is absent or after he is dead."—*Carlos Baker, New York Times.* $2.50

at your bookstore
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK

A welcome gift in history and biography is "LEE'S LIEUTENANTS" by D. S. Freeman. Per volume, $5; Three Volumes, Boxed, $15.

emplified in writers like T. S. Eliot or the school of Southern agrarians, whose criticism of modern civilization is rooted in traditionalist principles. Thus James anticipated . . . one of the major tendencies in twentieth-century thinking."

Behind the central figures—and how masterly is the introduction and first grouping of these—James has painted in with complete solidity, combined with his own delicate, peculiar kind of poetic light and coloring, the New England social, spiritual, and physical scene as it has never been rendered before or since. Anyone who has grown up in New England during the last fifty years can vouch for the truth of these delineations of New England social and spiritual tremors. Here is the top layer shot through and through with the humanitarian feeling which must, rather guiltily, accompany utilitarian push and compromise—seeking for "roots" and reality. Here is the entire middle class yearning upward, toward "the fragrance of Beacon Street." James bares the many thin layers of provincial snobbery with scalpel nicety. Turns of both vulgar and affected speech; wrong entrances regretted; all sorts of little affronts taken as "liberties"; shabby genteel uneasiness; upper-class idées fixes and brutalities of placement ("it is as though [I] had struck up an intimacy with the daughter of [my] chiropodist"); the beginning of newspaper curiosity into private lives; the pushing tactics of the vigorous outsider—the whole brittle, energetic, shifting scene, filled with cruelty, uncertainty, nervousness, and "nerve": here it stands in James as in our memory.

Nor does he scamp the scene's décor and backdrop. Note the poignant description of the period's American bleakness, seen in "the red sunsets of winter" from Olive's drawing-room windows. Remark the details of another Boston dusk, as Ransom walks the Boston streets before Verena's "big" lecture. Consider the exquisite description of the Cape—the background James sets behind the bitter struggle between Ransom and Olive for the "possession" of Verena. One sentence, beginning, "There were certain afternoons in August, long, beautiful, and terrible, when one felt that the summer was rounding its curve," can be set, for sheer power of evocation, against anything in Emily Dickinson.

I have always associated the little "square," Union Park, in Boston, with "The Bostonians." Set between two busy and now run-down avenues, it takes the form of a flattened oval —that shape dear to the nineteenth century. Great trees shade it, around a grass plot running its length, decorated by two small cast-iron fountains. The red brick houses, with their "salient" bulging fronts running from top to bottom of the façades, exemplify the first Boston architecture purely American nineteenth-century in character. The naive assumption, usual at the beginning of technological, political, and generally materialist triumphs, that anything sufficiently bold and powerful must last forever is built into these "fronts" along with their brick and mortar. It was in such a house that Miss Birdseye lived, and that Ransom first saw Verena. But things change. Today—and for the last forty years or so—these houses have been shabby boarding-houses or "light-housekeeping" rooms. The roomers, armed with their paper bags of food and their milk bottles, return to them at night under the shadow of the gracious trees, mount the steps

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIVE THE BOOKS YOU'D LIKE TO GET

THE AGE OF JACKSON
by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

Marquis James, Pulitzer Prize biographer of Andrew Jackson: "He has set a landmark in American historical literature . . . The book has depth, clarity and ease—and its people live. Many will understand better the causes that engendered, the forces that sustained and the aims that triumphed under the aegis of a leader who has lately left us and whose mark on American life is so like that of Jackson."

SEVENTH PRINTING • $5.00

The Story of the SECOND WORLD WAR

Edited by Henry Steele Commager. A series of vignettes, descriptions, analyses and historic statements by men and women who participated in or observed the war, all bound together with a general historical narrative by the Editor. *With frontispiece and maps.* $3.00

I SAW THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE *by Ella Winter*

Ella Winter went back to Russia to learn what had happened to daily life in the Soviet Union. The result is a warm-hearted introduction to the Soviet citizens and an exciting account of one woman's experiences in the homes, farms, shops, the theaters, courts, and schools, of the country which gave so much strength to defeat our enemy. $3.00

ROAD TO REACTION* *by Herman Finer*

Give the conservative friend who made *you* read Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* this brilliant exposé of Hayek's political and historical fallacies. In it, a distinguished political scientist points out the dangers in the attitude of those who welcome Hayek as the prophet of "free enterprise." $2.00

DILEMMA IN JAPAN *by Andrew Roth*

". . . grounded on facts . . . the result of logical thinking. He represents the younger school of American experts who are not blinded . . . by myths which even the Japanese do not believe."—Owen Lattimore. $2.50

New Fiction by Major Novelists

REPENT IN HASTE
by John P. Marquand
$1.50

WHERE MY LOVE SLEEPS*
by Clifford Dowdey
$2.50

THE HIGH BARBAREE*
by Charles Nordhoff
and *James Norman Hall*
$2.00

SO WELL REMEMBERED*
by James Hilton
$2.50

COMMODORE HORNBLOWER
by C. S. Forester
$2.50

BEYOND THE SOUND OF GUNS
by Emilie Loring
$2.00

MANY LONG YEARS AGO

by Ogden Nash

Containing chiefly poems from earlier books now out of print, this volume, with I'M A STRANGER HERE MYSELF and GOOD INTENTIONS, represents Mr. Nash's collected verse as of today. $2.50

At all bookstores

***Atlantic Monthly Press Books**

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beside the flourish of scrolled iron railings, and enter the big doors under obsolete, elaborate "gasoliers." The materialist spirit that thought to build enduring mansions built, instead, the most solid and dismal furnished lodgings.

In "The Bostonians" James fixes the crudities and misapprehensions of that spirit. Far from identifying himself with Ransom, he yet uses this character to throw uncompromising light on a humanitarianism itself grown harsh, proud, and aggressive, cut off from the humility and the realism which must be charity's true base. He shows us perfectionists blind to their own imperfections, liberals neutralized by their "liberality," radicals bound by unyielding dogma to callousness and sadism; as well as the "moist, emotional" yearners and the hysterics of both sexes, unconsciously seeking a ritual and a master that they consciously reject. "The Bostonians" fills a gap in our literature. It is important that it is again in print, available to those who have overlooked one of the greatest of American novels, which has existed, as it were, in the shadow of the very culture upon which it sheds light, since 1886.

BERTRAND RUSSELL AMONG THE SAGES

BY SIDNEY HOOK

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $5.

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S history of philosophy is perhaps an event of the first importance in the intellectual history of Bertrand Russell. But it is not likely to be regarded as of comparable importance in the history of the history of philosophy. Reading this book, I was continually reminded of George Henry Lewes's "Biographical History of Philosophy." Under the inspiration of Comte and positivist doctrine Lewes undertook to write a history of philosophy exposing the pretensions of philosophy to knowledge. He pointed up his history to show that philosophy could not stake a valid claim for itself as constituting either a distinctive subject matter or a distinctive method. The conclusion was an eloquent plea that philosophical speculation be abandoned for scientific inquiry, especially in psychology. None the less, Lewes wrote such a lively and captivating account of the errors of philosophy that few readers completed it without a strengthened interest in the subject. In my own case it was one of the books that turned me to a closer study of philosophy.

Russell's aim is not as iconoclastic as Lewes's. For him the problems of philosophy, in so far as they are soluble, are problems of logical analysis, not psychology; in so far as they are not soluble they are simply not problems of knowledge. Although his temper is ironical rather than crusading, he conveys a profounder impression of the futility of philosophy than Lewes was able to do. Where Lewes, openly hostile to philosophy, makes the reader feel that it is of exciting concern to every reflective person, Russell, with a greater show of sympathy, fails to establish any good reason for thinking philosophy of the slightest practical importance except in getting rid of a few metaphysical bugbears. This failure is bound up with the weakness of his book as history and the unclarity of his conception of the nature of philosophy and what it can do. Despite this, the book has several merits which make it decidedly worth reading, and I shall discuss these first.

Russell is one of the great prose stylists in the English language. Reading him is a delight even when he says puckishly untrue things about his predecessors and contemporaries from Socrates to Dewey. Much of philosophic discourse must be technical; but there is also much that is needlessly so. Russell trims the verbiage to a minimum. What stands out in his style is its clarity, which has a deceptive simplicity for the unwary, a sensitiveness to logical form, and a graceful wit, often deflected by flippancy but sometimes sure and deadly. These qualities give Russell's work a buoyancy that floats the reader through almost nine hundred pages. He translates jargon into more familiar language. The account of Kant does *not* contain the phrase "the transcendental unity of apperception." There is an effort to make philosophers sound plausible even when it is obvious that Russell thinks they are talking nonsense. Sometimes they are even given the benefit of good arguments they *could* have used. In this way Russell succeeds in making almost all philosophers seem clear, usually clearer than they are. He is always on the lookout for the central nerve of argument, which he probes in an expert way. A dry humor gives added force to his criticism. Watching him brings to mind the swordsman in Thurber's famous cartoon who cuts off his opponent's head with one neat stroke and murmurs, "Touché!" All of these qualities are very unusual in other histories of philosophy.

But they have the defects of their virtues. Russell writes history like a mathematician: the complexity, the sense of depth and richness in the history of ideas and events are not communicated. This is true not only when he treats of religious heresies but also when he treats of the influence of scientific movements like Darwinism on philosophy. His approach is psychologically thin; he does not make plausible the compulsive "reasons" which have led philosophers to embrace doctrines that seem absurd or paradoxical. And sometimes the man whose head he cuts off isn't there!

The strongest merit of Russell's history is its emphasis on problems. It gets away from exposition for its own sake, from that dreary retelling of what philosophers have said in language that differs little from paraphrase. Russell's approach suggests that after allowance is made for the varying historical idioms in which problems are put, there are certain perennial problems that always emerge when men consider the foundations of knowledge and belief. Wherever he runs across them, Russell steps out of the historical frame and offers to solve them. The solutions may be moot, but the procedure gives life and a dimension of contemporaneity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By Paul Hughes

A novel of epic proportions built around a vast, bloody military operation — the third battle for Changsha. Through the personal and poignant reactions of the men who fight, their women, and the people of Changsha, the whole magnificent panorama is brought to life. Like *War and Peace, Challenge at Changsha* will not soon be dated, for it is not a military record but a rich tapestry woven from the human substance of history. $2.50

THE SMALL GENERAL

By ROBERT STANDISH

A rollicking novel of contemporary China. "Offers much as an intimate tapestry of Chinese life." — *Chicago Daily News.* "By long odds better than anything Standish has done before . . . wholly delightful . . ." — *New York Sun.* $2.50

MY FELICIA

By PAUL DRISCOLL

The story of a beautiful Polish-American girl who was loved by two men: the sensitive rich boy whose ancestors founded the mill in which her immigrant mother worked, and the appealing Irishman involved in politics and rum-running. $2.50

By John B. Powell

Here is J. B. Powell's long-awaited book on China. Reporting civil wars and invasions, kidnapped by bandits, in direct touch with political and economic developments throughout the Far East, imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese, Powell was always in the thick of things. His book is an informed appraisal of contemporary Chinese history. $3.50

Wartime Mission in Spain: 1942-1945

By CARLTON J. H. HAYES

The first fully authentic report of our policy in regard to Spain: a personal account of the Ambassador's role in ensuring Spain's neutrality and aid to the Allies. An interesting and significant book. $3.00

Russia and the Western World

By MAX M. LASERSON

An objective answer to a crucial question: what role will the Soviet Union play in world affairs? This dispassionate appraisal of Russia's foreign and domestic policies clarifies many Russian actions which may puzzle us today. $2.50

At all bookstores

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books from the HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The First Volume in the American Foreign Policy Library Edited by SUMNER WELLES

The United States and Britain

by CRANE BRINTON

A book which gives the public, in exceedingly readable and simple form, a comprehensive understanding of the British people, their government and the issues involved in Anglo-American relations. *Maps.* $2.50

Why Smash Atoms?

by ARTHUR K. SOLOMON

A new, revised edition brought up to date to include the latest authoritative information on the atomic bomb. *The Journal of the American Chemical Society* says: "An excellent popular story of contemporary research in nuclear physics... warmly recommended to interested laymen." $3.00

General Education in a Free Society

THE REPORT OF THE HARVARD COMMITTEE

"The sanest, most practical statement of our national educational problems that I have yet seen."—Claude Fuess. Introduction by James Bryant Conant. $2.00

The Philippine Islands

by W. CAMERON FORBES

"Condensed from the two-volume edition, Governor Forbes' major work has retained its authority, its clear, readable style, its comprehensive and sympathetic treatment of every major element."—*Far Eastern Survey.* $5.00

The Road to High Employment

Administrative Controls in a Free Economy

by DOUGLAS B. COPLAND

Professor of Economics, University of Melbourne

A cogent analysis of the importance of both public and private investment in the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment in a free economy. $1.75

Financing Full Employment

by J. PHILIP WERNETTE

President of the University of New Mexico

Dr. Wernette outlines a positive program to achieve full employment and prosperity with the minimum of governmental regulation and a maximum of free private enterprise. $2.00

At all bookstores

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

to material that lies dead in the pages of conventional historians.

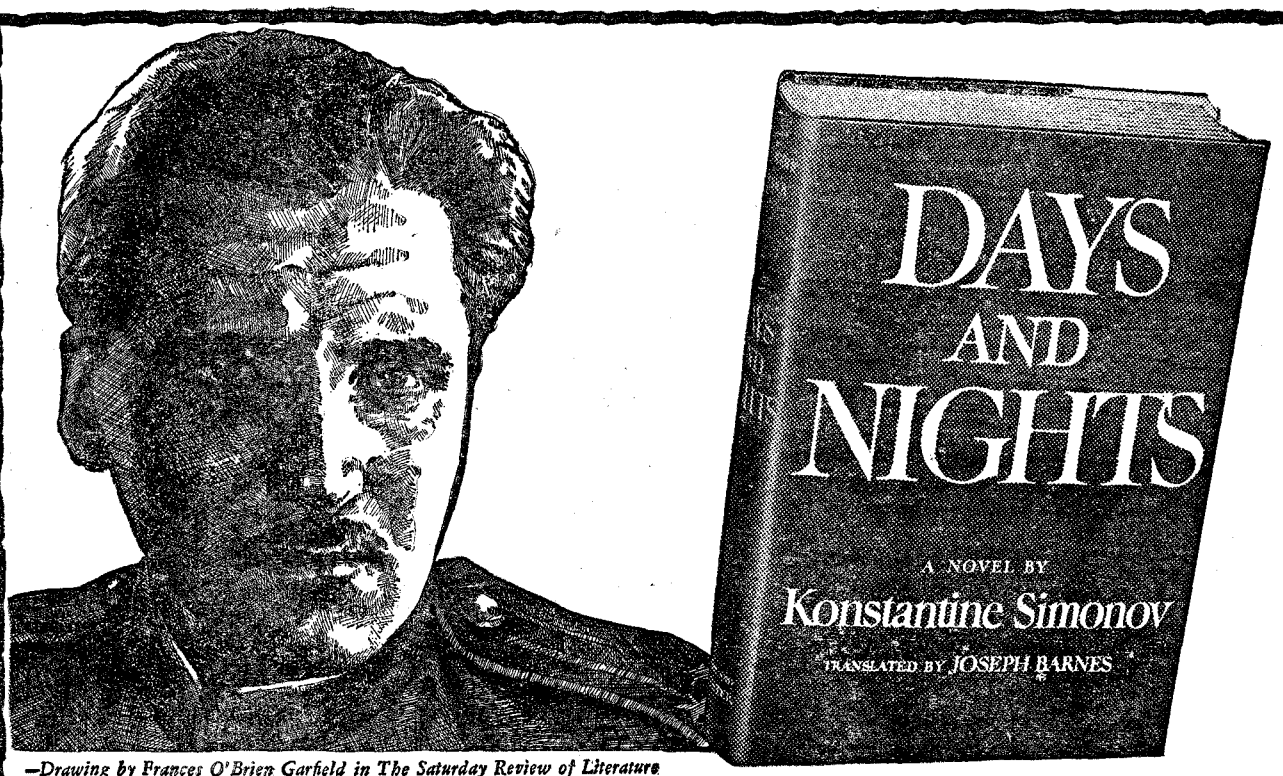
While his emphasis is on problems, Russell does not neglect cultural and political history. The book is bravely dedicated in its subtitle to a study of philosophy in its "connection with political and social circumstances." Although the connection is, so to speak, side by side rather than in and out, a great quantity of political and social history is presented in narrative form, so that the reader is aware that philosophers are men and live in definite social and political climates of opinion even when the philosophers themselves show no awareness of this. The treatment of the social and political history of the medieval period is unusually extensive for a history of philosophy.

Finally, flashing through the pages, are Russell's insights on men and issues challenging the pieties of the stuffed tradition with simple truths, simply put. Speaking of the long history enjoyed by the idea of the gentleman in philosophical and educational theory, he writes: "The gentleman is to be defined as one of a society of equals who live on slave labor." After a frank evaluation of the Socratic dialectic, he comments on Socrates: "As a man we may believe him admitted to the community of saints: but as a philosopher he needs a long residence in a scientific purgatory." Platonism, when analyzed, "is found to be in essence Pythagoreanism." Of Aristotle's metaphysics: "Roughly speaking [it] may be described as Plato diluted by common sense. He is difficult because Plato and common sense do not mix easily." Rational mystics like Plotinus and Spinoza are treated gently; romantics like Rousseau, Schopenhauer, and Nietszche with devastating irony. Leibnitz is treated as a supreme intellect and as a supreme prig. Russell seems always intent upon appraising the I. Q. of philosophers. It is almost as if he were matching himself against them—and was satisfied with the result. This, too, makes for a certain freshness.

None the less, the work as a whole is very disappointing. It will not influence historical writing on philosophy, nor will it help Russell's reputation. It fails first of all to achieve what it set out to do. The connection between most philosophical ideas and their social and political circumstances is not established. In places this connection is interpreted in terms of the narrow economic interests of the class to which the philosophers belong, according to the fashion of "vulgar" historical materialism. This can never explain why Aristotle and Plato differ in their views on property and other subjects. One need only contrast Russell's treatment of philosophy in Greek culture with Dewey's to see how extrinsic it is. In his discussion of the late medieval controversy between realism and nominalism he overlooks its connection with important social issues, like opposition to a universal church and the rise of individualism.

Russell divides philosophy into what is scientific and what is ultimately personal opinion. The first is treated independently of culture, the second almost exclusively in terms of it. This simple division is irrelevant to exploring the hypothesis that philosophy and culture are integral to each other. Granted that the logical validity of scientific philosophy is independent of its social origins, the problem is: Why do these ideas, true or false, arise and spread in some social periods and not others; what influences the change in scien-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



—*Drawing by Frances O'Brien Garfield in The Saturday Review of Literature*

INSTANT ACCLAIM

for this breathtaking novel of Stalingrad, by Russia's young hero-reporter-poet,

Konstantine Simonov

"The love story of little Anya and her huge captain is told with such delicacy and grace that one easily understands why the whole battalion fell in love with Anya. No one can read *Days and Nights* without a lift of the spirit and some little accretion of pride in being a man."
—GERALD W. JOHNSON, *New York Times Book Review*

"'When a book raises your spirit and inspires you with noble and courageous feelings, it is good and made by a good workman.' *Days and Nights* is a good book made by a good workman. It is a touchingly simple love story. And so well has Simonov written his tale that he purveys the gift of hope." —ERNESTINE EVANS, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*

"The finest of the Russian novels to reach us."
—LEWIS GANNETT, *New York Herald Tribune*

"The triumphant success of this book is easy to understand. It is an intense, dramatic, and intimately authentic account of action in one of the most momentous battles of history. It is significant as an expression of Russian emotion about Russia's greatest victory."
—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, *The New York Times*

"It is undoubtedly one of the finest modern novels about men and women at war. Threaded through it are the epic heroism of 'War and Peace,' the tender poignancy and sharp reality of 'A Farewell to Arms.' The heroic characters are as honest, as recognizable, and as universal in their own way as Mauldin's Willie and Joe."
—RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH, *The Chicago Sun*

"'Days and Nights' thrills the reader like the rolling drums of Chopin's Funeral March."
—WILLIAM MCFEE, *New York Sun*

As these reviews show, **Days and Nights** *is being greeted as the greatest novel to come out of the Soviet Union. In Russia it sold more more than 400,000 copies. It has just been published in the United States, in a splendid translation by Joseph Barnes. The Book-of-the-Month Club has chosen* **Days and Nights** *as its November selection.*

$2.75 AT YOUR BOOKSELLER'S • SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS • NEW YORK CITY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tific world outlooks? On the other hand, even if the rest of philosophy is defined as "an organic whole of extra-rational decisions," is it so obvious that these decisions and related ideas are overwhelmingly determined by social and political motives? Russell feels himself to be in substantial agreement with Marx, but Marx does not equate economic conditions with economic self-interest. To say, as Russell does, in discussing usury, that "the views of philosophers, with few exceptions, have coincided with the pecuniary interest of their class"—and there are suggestions that he believes this is true of many of their views on other things, too—is closer to Bentham than to Marx.

Russell fails once more in presenting a rounded account of the technical philosophical systems of the great philosophers. He relies too much on secondary sources and, where not, gives a running commentary on one or two of the philosophers' works without setting forth the philosophy whole. He lacks the sympathetic imagination of a good historian. One has long since given up expecting him to be even fair in his exposition of Dewey. In criticizing for the fourth time Dewey's definition of inquiry he overlooks for the fourth time Dewey's explicit statement that "discourse through the use of symbols is intrinsic to inquiry," and thereby convicts Dewey of believing that drill sergeants and bricklayers are masters of inquiry. It is amusing to observe Russell's complete rejection of Hegel, whose pan-rationalism is legitimately criticized, when he is himself using in this very history—however inadequately—a cultural approach we owe to Hegel.

Last, and strangest of all, Russell fails to give even a coherent account of the meaning of philosophy and its uses. He begins by defining philosophy as a field of opinion intermediate between science, which possesses definite knowledge, and theology, which entertains dogmas about what is beyond knowledge. He ends by identifying the method of philosophy with the method of logical analysis, which is able to reach conclusions both definite and valid. This would make philosophy a part of science. Throughout the volume we are constantly assured that all questions of value are merely questions of taste, that reason, argument, scientific evidence are essentially irrelevant to judgments of value. But his very last words maintain that the philosophy of logical analysis can "suggest" and "inspire" a way of life, that it can be "extended to the whole sphere of human activity," with beneficent results. Among these results are "a lessening of fanaticism with an increasing capacity of sympathy and mutual understanding." But if the grounds of our valuation have nothing to do with scientific method, why should he believe that the extension of the habits of scientific inquiry and logical analysis will not only affect our moral judgment but *improve* it?

Like every other historian of philosophy Russell has a philosophy of history, too. It is suspiciously like Spengler's. All important cultures inevitably develop from a stage in which the social system is tyrannical, superstitious, but stably organized to a stage in which, as a consequence of brilliant intellectual achievements and the spread of *rationalism,* traditional social bonds are dissolved, resulting in anarchy. This is followed by a new authoritarianism that goes through the same cycle. Russell pleads for the philosophy of liberalism as an escape from this "endless oscillation." The distinctive feature of liberalism is "an attempt to secure a social order not based on irrational dogma." But if Russell were logically consistent in *his* value theory, he would have to admit that liberalism is just as much an irrational dogma, since no reasons can inform it, as Hitlerism and Stalinism. By all means let us build a social system based on *rational* dogma. But if it is truly rational, how does it differ from a truth or from a conclusion believed true in virtue of the scientific method used in its discovery?

Russell's moral skepticism, as well as his scientific skepticism, defeats itself in the literal sense that he finds himself incapable of believing what is entailed by his theoretical position. It is possible that his theory is sound and he himself not strong enough to live up to its blinding truth. Before reaching this conclusion, it would be well to explore other positions according to which it is his theory that is weak and his moral judgments sound.

The Dream from Which No One Wakes

LITTLE FRIEND, LITTLE FRIEND. By Randall Jarrell. Dial Press. $2.

IT IS an open secret, and a pity, that Randall Jarrell is known chiefly as the author of overwhelming wisecracks about other poets. Jarrell is not entirely innocent of responsibility for this reputation, nor is the reader: both are perhaps too eager to forget everything for the sake of a good laugh. But only the reader who forgets the jokes and remembers Jarrell's first two books will be prepared for the extraordinary growth in this new book. In his first two books many of the poems were weakened by a thinness and abstractness of texture and reference; it was as if the poet saw his subjects through opera glasses. One was forced to remember Eliot's observation that "the great poets give us real men, talking; set up before us real events, moving." For all the genuineness of the poems, the net result resembled the dim and ghastly negative which has to be held up to the light, and not the developed photograph full of daylight and defined objects. And it was impossible not to think of Jarrell's critical prose and to guess that if only the wit might be part of the verse, what a modernist Pope we might have.

The wit remains absent and the abstractness is not entirely dissolved. But in this new book Jarrell has a much closer, much more intimate grasp of his subject, perhaps because he has actually lived through the war with which his first poems were also concerned, but concerned in terms of intuition and premonition, not of the event and the aftermath. From the start Jarrell's sensibility has been avid, ravenous to know, to take in what really exists, to stay awake and to stare at the dark as well as the light. In "Little Friend, Little Friend" this quality of mind, this passion to be aware and awake and alive, comes up against the immense, international, and yet muffled, scattered, masked terror of war, precisely the kind of phenomenon to make such a mind most articulate, as Shakespearean heroes are most eloquent and full of insight when they are dying. Instead of general affirmation or re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The *pros* and *cons* of the literary controversy of the day

THE QUESTION OF HENRY JAMES

A COLLECTION OF CRITICAL ESSAYS

Edited by F. W. DUPEE

AN OUTSTANDING volume of 26 of the best critical essays on the merits of Henry James, climaxing 60 years of debate on the subject. Not all the essays are favorable. They range from merciless parodies of his style to the high praise of the men responsible for today's unprecedented interest in his novels and stories. "Recommended as the most useful single book on a major American writer whose work is now being republished and reappraised."—*Library Journal*

Among the critics represented: *Max Beerbohm, Joseph Conrad, Van Wyck Brooks, Edmund Wilson, T. S. Eliot, Philip Rahv, Andre Gide,* and 19 others.

302 pages, with index and bibliography of critical papers on James, $3.75

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

HENRY HOLT & COMPANY

Illustrated with 34 full-page drawings

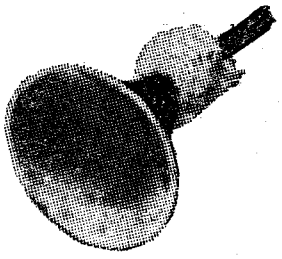
A RIBBON AND A STAR

THE THIRD MARINES AT BOUGAINVILLE

Text by JOHN MONKS, JR., co-author of Brother Rat

Illustrations by JOHN FALTER, famous cover artist of the Saturday Evening Post

A tough, direct, personal account of the historic Marine victory by a participant in the battle. *$2.75*



"Brilliant . . . A lesson for Americans to ponder."

—N. Y. Times Book Review

TIN HORNS AND CALICO

By HENRY CHRISTMAN

Introduction by CARL CARMER

The thrilling story of an unknown American revolution—New York's Tin Horn Rebellion of 100 years ago. "It would be difficult to recommend it too highly." — *Minneapolis Tribune.* *377 pages, illustrated, $3.75*

Make it a *hilarious* Christmas with

BARNABY AND MR. O'MALLEY

By CROCKETT JOHNSON

$2.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"... opens windows on ... problems that must be understood and solved if the coming world is to be truly democratic."
—LEWIS COREY, *The Nation*

REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY
An Interpretation of the British Civil Service

By J. DONALD KINGSLEY

Deputy Executive Director, WMC; co-author of "Public Personnel Administration" and "Strategy for Democracy"; Professor of Government in Antioch College.

The Labor Party victory has swung Kingsley's book into the foreground of immediate tactics in the British scene and notably sharpened its relevance for America. Essential to an understanding of the forces shaping present-day democracy. 324 pages. $3.50

THE ANTIOCH PRESS
YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA — An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church"
An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.
Cloth Binding $1.75 Paper-covered $1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS" by L. H. Lehmann
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.
Cloth Binding $1.75 Paper-covered $1.00

COMBINATION OFFERS
Both Cloth Bound Books $3.00
Both Paper Bound Books $2.00

New Pamphlet
"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"
48 pages of Documented Facts 25c

Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books

Order From:
AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. D51
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

jection of the war, Jarrell takes the particular part of the dead. In poem after poem the dead soldier says, *"Why did I die?"* And that is the end of the poem. The bombers can't land in the fog, the child does not know why he is in the refugee ship, the prisoners load trucks like automata, the halfwit can accept his mother's death and the drafting of his sister, he can accept everything but that "They took my cat for the Army Corps," "And I cried, and I cried, I wanted to die." Indeed, the obsessive symbols of the cat, the child, and the dream emerge through most of the book, forced by the pressure of the emotions of hopelessness, helplessness, animal terror and animal tenderness, senseless death, and shrieking over-all perplexity at the fact that men kill each other.

These emotions show their effect in the development of Jarrell's versification. His personal rhythm is now both clear and various. To the ignorant or inattentive reader, who looks in poetry only for the sensational imagery and obvious chanting, Jarrell's writing may seem slack and loose when it is exactly the contrary. By means of justified repetition, hurried anapests, and a caesura fixed by alliteration Jarrell gets a wonderfully expressive syncopation of movement, a tone which insists, like a passionate stammer, and reiterates nervously because the whole being is compelled by anxiety and guilt:

> They lived, they died. "I am what I am,"
> Someone heard Swift stammer: he was crazy.
> Beethoven, dying, learned to multiply.
> What does it mean? Why, nothing.
> Nothing? . . . How well we all die!

New defects occur also as a result of the poet's growth. In some poems he writes like a *nouveau riche* in ideas, crudely brandishing and flourishing Marxist ideas and permitting himself such a line as "But soon all the *chimneys* were hidden with *contracts*," a mixture of the visual and the abstract which tries to and cannot become a genuine—which is to say, *seen*—image. An effort is made to versify Marx baldly, to go from statements about trade and credit to a perception of mines and mills. Consequently the poem collapses. Twice, and strangely for an author like Jarrell, he permits his emotions about the war to become an anger against books and the university. The thesis of Archibald MacLeish is renewed when Jarrell attempts to say that if knowledge and scholarship were not actually the causes of war, they ought somehow to have been able to transform capitalist society and prevent war. This banal and sentimental view arrives at hideous absurdity in the poem in which the climax is the burning of the university. Two opposed quotations bear directly on this kind of hysteria: "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life"; "The spirit killeth, but the letter giveth life." It ought to be possible to remember both of these maxims, for both were spoken with authority and both may be useful pieces of knowledge.

For the most part, however, the motives of honesty, courage, and inconsolable love of life are here submitted to the conditions of poetry and fulfilled in them. If, as one poem declares, this life is a dream from which no one wakes, the dreamer has refused to deceive himself, to let himself go, and to forget what he believes and loves.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Biographical Dictionary of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Freethinkers

By Joseph McCabe. 60,000 words, in our larger format, pages 5½x8½ inches in size. 75c, prepaid.

McCabe's list of Freethinkers is so large that the result is sure to impress even Freethinkers. A study of the numerous dates in this encyclopedic work shows that skepticism or freethinking grows in all ages in exact proportion to the grant of freedom of expression and the diffusion of knowledge, and that this skepticism, beginning with a challenge of the prevailing religious form, deepens into Atheism.

This fine book's list includes almost 50 monarchs and heads of states, more than a score of the world's greatest musicians and artists, and hundreds of famous scholars and writers. It also includes less illustrious names that will prove of interest to the reader. In our opinion, the best advertisement for this book is a list of the Freethinkers who are given biographical treatment by McCabe. There are almost 500 biographical sketches in this book. Here is a partial list:

Abelard, Peter
Adams, John
Addams, Jane
Allen, Ethan
Alembert
Anaxagoras
Annunzio, d'
Anthony, Susan B.
Aristippus
Aristotle
Arnold, Sir Edwin
Arnold, Matthew
Asoka
Aspasia
Bakunin, Mikhail
Bacon, Lord
Balzac
Baudelaire
Beethoven
Bennett, Arnold
Bergson
Bierce, Ambrose
Bizet
Bjornson
Bolivar, Simon
Bonaparte, Prince
Bonheur, Rosa
Borrow, Geo.
Bradlaugh, Chas.
Brahms
Brandes, Geo.
Brieux, Eugene
Brooke, Rupert
Browne, Sir Thomas
Browning, Robt.
Bruno, Giorano
Buddha
Buffon
Burbank, Luther
Burns, Robert
Burroughs, John
Burton, Sir Richard
Byron, Lord
Butler, Samuel
Carlile, Richard
Carnegie, Andrew
Carlyle, Thomas
Caroline, Queen
Catherine the Great
Chaucer
Cherubini
Cicero
Clemenceau, Georges
Clemens, Sam L.
Coleridge
Comte
Confucius
Conrad, Jos.
Croce, Benedetto
Curie, Marie
Curie, Prof. Pierre
Danton
Darrow, Clarence
Darwin, Chas.
Daudet, Alphonse
Debussy
Delacroix
Desmoulins
Dewey, John
Diderot
Douglas, Stephen
Dreiser, Theo.
Dumas
Edison, Thos. A.
Einstein, Prof.
Eliot, Prof. Chas. W.
Eliot, Geo.
Elizabeth, Queen
Ellis, Havelock
Emerson, Ralph Waldo
Epicurus
Erasmus
Euripides
Fabre, Jean Henri
Fels, Jos.
Ferrer, Francisco
Ferrero, G.
Feuerbach
Fichte
Fitzgerald, Ed.
Flammarion, Camille
Flaubert
Fourier
France, Anatole
Franklin, Benj.
Frazer, Sir James
Frederic II.
Frederic the Great
Freud
Gallatin
Galsworthy, John
Garibaldi
Garrison, Wm. Lloyd
Gautier
Gibbon, Edward
Girard, Stephen
Goethe
Gorky
Gourmont, Remy de
Grant, U. S.
Hadrian
Haeckel
Harte, Bret
Hauptmann, Gerhart
Hawthorne, Nath.
Hazlitt, Wm.
Hearn, Lafcadio
Hegel
Heine
Helmholtz
Helvetius
Henley, Wm. E.
Heracleitos
Hobbes
Holbach
Holmes, Oliver Wendell
Holyoake, Geo. J.
Howells, Wm. Dean
Hugo, Victor
Humboldt
Hume
Huneker, James G.
Huxley, Prof.
Ibsen, Henrik
Ingersoll, Robt.
James, Wm.
Jaures
Jefferies, Richard
Jefferson, Thomas
Jordan, David Starr
Juarez
Julian, Emperor
Kant
Keats
Keith, Sir Arthur
Key, Ellen
Kropotkin, Prince
Lafayette
Lamarck
Lamb, Chas.
Lamennais
Lang, Andrew
Lao-tse
Laplace
Lassalle, Ferdinand
Lecky
Lenin
Leopardi
Lessing
Leuba, Prof.
Lewis, Sinclair
Liebknecht, Wm.
Lincoln
Locke, John
Lombroso
London, Jack
Longfellow
Lowell, James R.
Lowell, Percival
Lucretius
Madison, James
Manfred
Mann, Horace
Marat
Marcus Aurelius
Marlowe, Chris
Martineau, Harriet
Marx, Karl
Masaryk, Pres.
Mascagni, Pietro
Massenet
Maupassant
Maxim, Hiram
Mazzini
Melville, Herman
Mendel
Mendelssohn, Moses
Mencius
Meredith, Geo.
Merimee, Prosper
Metchnikov
Michelet
Mill, James
Mill, John Stuart
Milton, John
Mirabeau
Mirbeau, Octave
Moliere
Mommsen, Prof.
Montague, Lady
Montaigne
Montesquieu
Moore, Geo.
Morley, John
Morris, Gouveneur
Morris, Wm.
Morse, Prof.
Motley, John L.
Mozart
Musset, de
Nansen, Prof.
Napoleon
Nietzsche
Nightingale, Florence
Omar Khayyam
O'Neill, Eugene
Osler, Sir Wm.
Owen, Robt.
Owen, Robt. Dale
Paine, Thomas
Palmerston
Pasteur, Louis
Pater, Walter
Pavlov, Prof.
Pericles
Pestalozzi
Peter the Great
Pheidias
Phillpotts, Eden
Pirandello, Luigi
Pitt, Wm.
Planck, Prof.
Plato
Poe
Poincare, Prof.
Pope, Alex.
Protagoras
Ptah-hotep
Ptolemy II
Pushkin
Rabelais
Reade, Wm. Winwood
Renan
Ricardo, David
Robespierre
Rodin
Rolland, Romain
Rostand
Rousseau
Ruskin, John
Russell, Bertrand
Sainte-Beuve
Sand, George
Santayana, Geo.
Sardou
Schiller
Schopenhauer
Schreiner, Olive
Schubert, Franz
Schumann, Robt.
Seneca
Servetus
Shakespeare
Shaw, G. B.
Shelley
Smith, Adam
Smith, Prof. Godwin
Socrates
Spencer, Herbert
Spinoza
Stalin
Stanhope, Lady
Stevenson, Robt. L.
Strauss, Richard
Strindberg
Sudermann
Symonds, J. A.
Tagore
Taine
Tai-tsung
Talleyrand
Tchaikovsky
Tchekov
Tennyson
Thackeray
Thales
Thiers
Thoreau
Tolstoi
Turgeniev
Turgot
Twain, Mark
Tyndall, Prof.
Vandervelde, Emile
Vauvenargues
Verhaeren
Verdi
Verestchagin
Victoria, Princess
Virchow
Volney
Voltaire
Wagner, Richard
Wallace, Alfred R.
Walpole, Sir Robert
Ward, Lester F.
Washington, Geo.
Watt, James
Wells, H. G.
Westermarck, Prof.
Whistler
White, Prof. A. D.
Whitman, Walt
Wollstonecraft, Mary
Zangwill, Israel
Zeno
Zola

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS
Box 1900, Girard, Kansas

ORDER BLANK FOR BIOG. DICTIONARY

E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 1900, Girard, Kansas

Enclosed find 75¢, payment in full for Joseph McCabe's A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN FREETHINKERS. Prepaid.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BARGAINS in BOOKS

UP TO 75% OFF FORMER PRICES

Offered by America's Oldest Mail-Order Book House

GIVE BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

1. THE LOST BOOKS OF THE BIBLE and The Forgotten Books of Eden. Two volumes complete in one large, fully illustrated volume. Handsomely bound. 562 pages. This intensely interesting volume is highly recommended by Dr. A. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. *Only* **$1.98**

2. THE GOLDEN BOUGH. A Study in Magic and Religion, by Sir James G. Fraser. Index. *752 pages.* "One of the greatest books of all time." Contains the wealth of the 12-volume edition published at $30.00 and formerly published in this 1-volume edition at $5.00. *Only* **$2.49**

3. I DISCOVER GREECE. By Harry A. Franck. 1st edition. Illustrated with *97 photographs.* 359 pages. Century, 1929 (now out of print). "The Prince of Vagabonds" roams through the picturesque land of Ulysses and tells you what he saw. Published at $4.00. **$1.29**

4. FOREIGN LANGUAGE WORD CARDS. Stephens Word Cards. The famous simplified self-teaching system of foreign language study, containing *512 cards* and illustrations. By means of these cards anyone can acquire a basic vocabulary and a general familiarity with Spanish, French, German, Italian and even Esperanto. Put up in an envelope. *All for only* **$1.29**

5. CARPENTRY. Craft Problems. By H. H. Siegle. With *700 illustrations.* Index. Contains everything you want to know about carpentry. *Only* **$1.98**

6. A CENTURY OF MURDER MYSTERIES. 101 Years' Entertainment. The Great Detective Stories 1841-1941. Edited by Ellery Queen. *999 pages.* From Poe to Agatha Christie, Ellery Queen has selected 50 of the finest detective-mystery-crime short stories ever written. *Only* **$1.98**

7. 10,000 TRADE SECRETS, RECIPES, etc. Fortunes in Formulas for Home, Farm and Workshop. (Henley's Twentieth Century Book of Ten Thousand Formulas, Processes and Trade Secrets). Edited by G. D. Hiscox, M.E. Illustrated. Index. 883 pages. (Formerly published at $4.00). *Only* **$1.49**

8. THE AMERICAN RIFLE. Our Rifles. A History of the American Rifle from 1800 to the Present Time. By Charles Winthrop Sawyer. With more than *450 illustrations* of every known type of American rifle. Index. (New edition. Second-hand copies of the out-of-print edition have fetched over $20.00). *Only* **$3.88**

9. THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, Ed. by Manuel Komroff. The 13th century Venetian merchant's own amazing story of his world travels. The most spectacular travel narrative ever recorded. *Only* **$1.98**

10. IN AND OUT OF COURT. By F. X. Busch. Illustrated. 306 pages. "As rare a collection of humorous courtroom incidents as has ever been gathered into one volume." Published at $3.00. *Only* **$1.29**

11. THE NEW WAY TO EAT AND GET SLIM. By Donald G. Cooley. Shows you how to eat well—yet lose 10 pounds in 10 days. Contains the "10-day miracle diet." *Only* **$1.98**

12. MEN PAST FORTY. By A. F. Niemoeller, A.B., M.A., B.S. Illustrated. "This great book contains an immense amount of wonderful information about impaired vigor, the prostate gland, weak manhood, rejuvenation, etc." *Special* **$1.49**

13. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FURNITURE. By Joseph Aronson. *1,115 photographs,* hundreds of drawings. The tremendous number of illustrations shows almost every kind and type of furniture ever made. For home decorators, collectors, antique dealers, architects, students. 424 pages. 8½" x 11". *Only* **$2.98**

14. BURTON'S ARABIAN NIGHTS. The book of the Thousand Nights and Night. By Sir Richard Burton. Complete and unexpurgated edition. In 16 *illustrated* volumes. Size of volumes 6¼" x 9¼". Over 5,000 pages. Published at $112.00. *The complete 16-volume set,* **$44.50**

15. RABELAIS. With the Doré illustrations. The complete and authentic Works of Rabelais. Profusely illustrated by Gustave Doré. *640 pages.* "Not to have read Rabelais—is not to have lived." "Never has there been, nor is, nor ever shall be, another book like it—for it stands unique and alone." *Only* **$2.49**

Money-Back Guarantee

THE UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION N-44

Established 1884

121-123 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I enclose $..... for which please send me the items I have encircled below, delivery charges prepaid.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

(Mark circle around items desired)

☐ Please send me FREE Holiday Catalog No. 344-N, containing hundreds of equally unusual Book Bargains—just off the press!

Name.....

Address.....

City..... *State*.....

Forever England!

YEARS OF VICTORY: 1802-1812. By Arthur Bryant. Harper and Brothers. $4.

IN ADDITION to being a prolific and deservedly popular writer of histories, Arthur Bryant is also one of the intellectual pillars of British conservatism. In the years before the war, when the premature anti-fascism of the Left Book Club was getting under Tory skins, he was, I believe, one of the promoters of the Right Book Club and a supporter of Neville Chamberlain. I hope, therefore, that I am not being unfair in regarding his new book, which tells the story of Britain's attempt to appease Napoleon and the long struggle that ensued after the effort proved futile, as an act of atonement.

At any rate, in writing of the decade that followed the Peace of Amiens Mr. Bryant seems to have had constantly in mind its many parallels with more recent events, though he never makes actual comparisons. Of course, the basic strategic and political situations were similar. Europe in 1802 was dominated by a dictator whose unbounded ambitions were blocked as long as Britain commanded the seas. When Britain was isolated, partly as a result of its attempts at appeasement, he planned to invade the island, massing troops and barges in the ports of the Pas de Calais. All he needed was three days of good weather with the British navy out of the way, for England had only a handful of trained troops to oppose a landing. But the British navy could not be disposed of by either force or trickery, and Napoleon, like Hitler, turned in disgust to new Continental aggressions which eventually raised all Europe against him. In the end Russia's armies played a big part in his defeat, but at times Russia's policies may have seemed as enigmatic to Pitt and his successors as they did to Churchill. Disgusted with Britain, the Czar Alexander embraced Napoleon at Tilsit, but "while France remained untamed, the ultimate interests of Britain and Russia remained the same."

Not only the plots of the two periods but their dramatis personae offer striking analogies. In retrospect Napoleon appears of greater stature than Hitler, and Mr. Bryant may be a little unjust in summarizing his plans in typical Hitlerian phraseology. But he gives samples of Napoleonic propaganda which one could swear were authentic Goebbels. He also etches an acid portrait of Addington, the Prime Minister who procured a "peace in our time" at Amiens which endured just about as many months as peace lasted after Munich. Addington's forcible-feeble protests against French aggressions recall the speeches of Neville Chamberlain as readily as those of Pitt remind us of Churchill.

Mr. Bryant has told his story well except for occasional lapses into patriotic rhetoric. Drawing copiously on the abundant memoirs and diaries of the time, he gives a lively picture of the home front. His account of the complicated naval strategy of the war is excellent, and he does a good job in sustaining interest in the Peninsular War, reports of which usually make rather dreary reading for all but students of military history. At the same time scholarship has not been sacrificed to entertainment; Mr. Bryant's researches appear to have been extensive, and I cannot detect any serious inaccuracies in regard to facts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All Hits – All HARPER'S

Aldous Huxley

THE PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY

In this profound and memorable book the author of *Time Must Have a Stop* and *Ends and Means* has drawn upon the wisdom of the ages to find a common denominator of a faith for today. "... even an agnostic can read this book with joy ... perhaps Mr. Huxley has written the most needed book in the world."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* $3.00

Louis Adamic

A NATION OF NATIONS

The colorful story of the various national groups which make up the United States, showing how each has helped to make our country great. A new and exciting kind of history which for the first time rounds out the story of America and brings these groups into proper focus. *16 pages of photographs.* $3.50

E. B. White

STUART LITTLE

"STUART LITTLE is a dream book. Children will go off to sleep dreaming of its minute hero, and parents who have reread it aloud for the *n*th time will still chortle as they find new glints of E. B. White's matchless humor which they overlooked in keeping pace with the adventure."—Edward Weeks, *Atlantic Monthly.*

With 87 drawings by Garth Williams. $2.00

At All Bookstores

KITCHEN FUGUE

By SHEILA KAYE-SMITH

"A ragout of recipes for eating and thinking; a splendid casserole, harmoniously integrated."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* $2.75

BOLTS OF MELODY

NEW POEMS OF EMILY DICKINSON

Edited by Mabel Loomis Todd and Millicent Todd Bingham. *With 10 pages of facsimile poems.* $3.00

ANCESTORS' BROCADES

By MILLICENT TODD BINGHAM

The Literary Début of Emily Dickinson. *With 10 pages of photographs.* $3.75

Boxed with *Bolts of Melody.* $6.75

GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM

By HENRY MORGENTHAU, Jr.

"No book since *Mein Kampf* has offered the American people information so important to their survival."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* $2.00

THE LIFE OF THE HEART

GEORGE SAND AND HER TIMES

By FRANCES WINWAR

"No more readable book has appeared this season ... a human story of ageless quality."—*Philadelphia Inquirer.* *Illustrated.* $3.00

YEARS OF VICTORY

1802-1812

By ARTHUR BRYANT

"A remarkable history of England's participation in the Napoleonic wars ... a fine and stirring book."—*N. Y. Times.* *With maps.* $4.00

HARPER & BROTHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS FROM CORNELL

CIVILIZATION AND DISEASE

BY HENRY E. SIGERIST
William H. Welch, Professor of the History of Medicine in The Johns Hopkins University

"A thoroughly readable book in one of the most fascinating fields of history. . . . Dr. Sigerist treats his rich material with admirable organization and selection, and writes clearly, urbanely, and unpretentiously."
—JOHN T. FREDERICK, *The Chicago Sun* $3.75

★

WRITERS AND THEIR CRITICS

BY HENRI PEYRE
Sterling Professor of French, Yale University

"It is not Monsieur Peyre's intention to close the doors of mercy on the critics."
—*London Times Literary Supplement* $3.00

★

ROSENBERG'S NAZI MYTH

BY ALBERT R. CHANDLER
Professor of Philosophy, Ohio State University

The first full treatment, in English, of *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts.* Little known outside Germany, Rosenberg's book holds a rank second only to *Mein Kampf* as an expression of Nazi philosophy. $1.75

★

MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE 1870-1940

BY VICTOR LANGE
Professor of the German Language and Literature, Cornell University

A critical analysis of German writing which surveys the work of the past three generations not in terms of dates and names, but in a coherent pattern of growing and shifting human attitudes and literary forms. $2.50

★

ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

ITHACA, NEW YORK

These are some of the book's merits. Its chief fault is the product of its author's ingrained assumption of British superiority. I can understand that Mr. Bryant during the past crucial years found it difficult to be detached about an earlier era of crisis for his country. Patriotic pride is no sin, but it does not excuse the moral chauvinism that infects so much historical writing in all countries. In this book we see it in the contemptuous epithets constantly applied to the Spaniards who fought with Wellington against Napoleon's best legions. The regular Spanish forces, it is true, were for the most part badly led and often proved undependable, but again and again uprisings of guerrillas drew off the French when the British army was hard pressed. Mr. Bryant concedes the courage of this resistance movement but hardly gives it the credit it deserves for the final French débâcle in Spain.

Again we find Mr. Bryant explaining French atrocities by reference to national characteristics and the legacy of revolution. Looting, rape, and massacre of civilians are reported in detail as proof that Napoleon's veterans "under the shock of defeat . . . had reverted to type" and gone back to "the shambles of the Terror." The similar behavior of British troops under similar circumstances is also condemned. But it is not used as a text for racial moralizing except to the extent that Irish recruits are held responsible!

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Trollopes at Home and Abroad

THE TROLLOPES. By Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins. Columbia University Press. $4.

FRANCES TROLLOPE came to America in 1827 with a muddle of purposes—she was fleeing from her husband's financial ruin and trying to repair it, she wanted to live in a communist colony for Negroes and whites in Tennessee and to make a fortune in the dry-goods business in Cincinnati—and returned to England in 1831 with one unintended achievement, the witty and still readable "Domestic Manners of the Americans." The writing she began at fifty, by chance, continued from necessity for twenty-six years, during which she turned out 114 volumes and drove her two sons to follow her trade, Thomas Adolphus by encouragement and love, Anthony by contempt and neglect.

It is Anthony who most interests us now, and it is his life which gives unity to this volume by Mrs. Stebbins and her son. Their skilfully organized family chronicle gives us Anthony in full scale by showing in their own full size the gay mother and gifted brother who so dwarfed him throughout his wretched early years and against whom he measured himself all his writing life. When his mother found her only opportunity to support a dying household by writing her novels before dawn, unknowingly she set a pattern that Anthony felt compelled to follow even when money and time were plentiful. He had to exceed the huge output of his mother and brother, and boasted usually of his speed-up methods of production, rarely of the quality of his product, which was much higher than he dared suspect. He intended in his travel book on America to correct his mother's harsh

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Borzoi Books—As pleasant to give as to receive

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

by Carl L. Becker

The final work by the author of *How New Will the Better World Be?* is "both a testament and a prophecy, and it should be widely read for what it has to say to us today."—CHARLES POORE, *New York Times.* $2.50

NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY

The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet

by Fawn M. Brodie

Winner of an Alfred A. Knopf Fellowship in Biography. In addition to affording a remarkable insight into the enigma of the Prophet's power, this stirring chronicle of a tragic and dramatic life provides a full and detailed history of the early Mormon Church. Illustrated. $4.00

Supplement One THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE

by H. L. Mencken

"Thoroughly readable in itself. . . . No professional can afford to neglect him . . . and no layman has ever dipped into *The American Language*, as none will dip into *Supplement One*, without surprise and admiration and delight."—CARL VAN DOREN $5.00

SPENDING, SAVING, AND EMPLOYMENT

by H. Gordon Hayes, *Professor of Economics, Ohio State University.* An original analysis, in terms of current economic thought, of the problem central to modern-day unemployment—namely, saving and investment. $3.00

LABOR TODAY AND TOMORROW

by Aaron Levenstein. A dramatically written, thoroughly informed analysis of the present and future relations of labor, management, and government, by a member of the Panel of Arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association. $2.75

NEW FRONTIERS IN ASIA

A CHALLENGE TO THE WEST

by Philip Jaffe. "One of the most illuminating analyses of the interrelationship of the advanced industrial powers with the undeveloped countries of Asia that I have read."—T. A. BISSON, *Institute of Pacific Relations.* $3.00

LEAVES OF GRASS

by Walt Whitman. This pocket-size edition, beautifully designed by W. A. Dwiggins, is an exact transcription of Whitman's own Deathbed Edition. Preface by Bernard Smith. $2.00

THE THEATRE BOOK OF THE YEAR: 1944-45

by George Jean Nathan. "There is probably more good sound sense about the contemporary theatre per page of his writing than will be found in any other commentator."—JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH $3.00

These books are for sale at all bookshops and are published in New York by

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROGRAM

of The Nation Associates' Annual Forum on

WHAT IS THE ANSWER TO THE ATOMIC BOMB?

DECEMBER 1, 2, 3, 1945
Hotel Astor • New York

★

Session Saturday, December 1—9:30 A. M.

I. IS SECURITY POSSIBLE?
- a. Opening of Conference.
- b. Can there be any defense against the atomic bomb?
- c. What value, if any, in secrecy?

Speakers and Discussants: Freda Kirchwey, Prof. Henry DeWolf Smyth, Prof. Ivan A. Getting.

★

Session Saturday, December 1—2 P. M.

II. WHAT IS OUR REAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION?
- a. Are we preparing for war against the Soviet Union?
- b. Should we give the secret of the bomb to the Soviet Union immediately?

Speakers and Discussants: Helen Gahagan Douglas, M. J. Coldwell, Walter Millis.

★

Session Sunday, December 2—9:30 A. M.

III. WHO SHOULD CONTROL THE ATOMIC BOMB?
- a. *Domestically*
  1. Government vs. Big Business.
  2. What is the role of Labor?
- b. What atomic energy may mean for the welfare of mankind
- c. *Internationally*
  1. Big powers and small ones.
  2. The United Nations Organization.
  3. An international control commission.

Speakers and Discussants: Thurman Arnold, James B. Carey, Boris Pregel, Stuart Chase, Jerome Frank, Edgar A. Mowrer, Prof. L. N. Ridenour.

★

Session Sunday, December 2—2 P. M.

IV. IS WORLD GOVERNMENT THE ANSWER?
- a. Can the United Nations Organization be preserved?
- b. Is World Government possible in immediate future?

Speakers and Discussants: Thomas K. Finletter, Charles G. Bolte, Lt. Kingman Brewster, Lt. Cord Meyer, Jr.

★

DINNER FORUM — DECEMBER 3

Speakers: Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, Professor Harold Laski, Dr. Leo Szilard, Dr. E. U. Condon, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Freda Kirchwey, Leon Henderson, Chairman.

judgments (he didn't—he confirmed many of them), and not content with the magnificent social history in the Barsetshire and parliamentary novels, undertook by his studies of Caesar and Cicero to rival his brother as a historian.

Family rivalry stirred Anthony not only to his prodigious effort but also, as the Stebbinses point out acutely, to the creation of his greatest characters. He was forever going over the old struggles between his irrepressible mother and his morose unsuccessful father, testing how they would have come out if their lines had fallen in other places. Proportioned exactly to his changed circumstances, his father becomes in turn the impoverished curate Crawley, the hero of "The Last Chronicle of Barset," and Plantagenet Palliser, the upright duke and prime minister who is the hero of the parliamentary novels; but his mother, with equal justness in her change, as Palliser's wife, the boundlessly alive Glencora, triumphs over her husband in fiction as she did in life.

"The Trollopes" is scholarly, pleasantly written, full of well arranged facts and at the same time so full of firm opinions that the captious reader can quarrel at will. The Stebbinses are always restrained; they are never swept away by their material and never attempt to sweep it along to some predestined end. If they have not exploited their subject fully—an unreasonable demand but one we are always justified in making—they have also never exploited it cheaply and have never spoiled the fascinating story of the great Philistine artist.

JAMES GROSSMAN

Unamuno—Last Essays

PERPLEXITIES AND PARADOXES. By Miguel Unamuno. Philosophical Library. $2.50.

MIGUEL UNAMUNO died during the complex struggle which is still called the Spanish civil war, and under circumstances which are still less than clear. The great objector of Spanish philosophy, his objections touched the political scene at a time and in a place where questions were not welcome. He who, under the republic as under the monarchy, had been fearless in criticism found his criticism exploited by the republic's enemies for their own side. His last days were spent in Salamanca under the aegis of the rebel generals. Never over-respectful of any government, he reserved the right to exercise his barbed technique of analysis on this newest one as he had on the old ones. It was common gossip that the Franco forces were so glad to see his tongue stilled that they might have hastened its quieting.

Crusty, intolerant of sham, coruscating in his comments, passionate in his insistence on the search for truth at all costs, he was at once the pride and the scourge of intelligent Spaniards. Since his death in the last months of the Spanish war he has grown in stature as the great incorruptible, and among a divided people in daily need of contemporary symbols of greatness he looms even larger than he did in life.

For these reasons among many others the appearance of a new book by Unamuno is potentially a literary event of the first order. This one has been published simultaneously in Spanish and in English by publishing houses in Mexico and the United States. Its essays, collected by Unamuno's nephew in Buenos Aires and translated by Professor Stuart Gross of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VIKING JUNIOR BOOKS *for Christmas*

JUST OUT!—A Perfect Gift Book

WIND ISLAND
Written and illustrated by
HEDVIG COLLIN

"To the children, a jolly, exciting story with delightful pictures. To their elders, a book that deserves its place among the arts." —MARY GOULD DAVIS, *The Saturday Review of Literature* *Ages 5-10* $2.00

POPPADILLY
Written and illustrated by
AUDREY CHALMERS

"Delightful and convincing characters in a fresh and amusing corner of the world of make-believe."—ANNE T. EATON, *N. Y. Times* *Picture book* $1.00

AUGUSTUS
By CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP
Illustrated by Grace Paull

"Will make a lovely Christmas present—an appealing black calf who stepped out to see the world."—*Boston Traveler*
Picture book $1.50

THE WIND BOY
By ETHEL COOK ELIOT
Illustrated by Robert Hallock

"This new edition is a welcome event, for here is fantasy at its rare and exquisite best."—*Chicago Sun*
Ages 8-12 $2.00

SECRETS
By JESSIE ORTON JONES
Illustrated by Elizabeth Orton Jones

"One of those rarely beautiful books that holds the loveliest of children's fancies."—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*
Ages 8-12 $2.00

BURLAP
Written and illustrated by
MORGAN DENNIS

"A thoroughly human and delightful story about a Basset hound, with accents of genuine humor."—*Boston Herald*
Picture book $1.00

YOU CAN WRITE CHINESE
Written and illustrated by KURT WIESE

"Nothing like it has ever been published before . . . a clarifying, fascinating introduction to a hitherto mysterious subject." —*Chicago Sun* *All ages* $1.50

THE YEAR WITHOUT A SUMMER
By ETHEL PARTON
Illustrated by Margaret Platt

"A worthy addition to this author's period stories."—*Chicago Tribune* *Pre-teen age* $2.00

THE MITCHELLS
Written and illustrated by
HILDA VAN STOCKUM

"A hearty family book . . . well written and dramatically sustained." —VIRGINIA KIRKUS *Pre-teen age* $2.50

ALL THOSE BUCKLES
By E. R. GAGGIN
Illustrated by Mildred Cloete

"One of the season's finest stories—a lovable family."—*Washington Times Herald* *Pre-teen age* $2.00

THE MULE SKINNERS
By MYRA REED RICHARDSON
Illustrated by Louis S. Glanzman

"If you give this to a small boy, he'll probably read it over and over."—MAY LAMBERTON BECKER, *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*
Pre-teen age $2.00

High School Age

NORTH FORK
By DORIS GATES
Jacket by Wesley Dennis

"If only there were more books for boys like this one! . . . a working philosophy woven in with a good story about real people."—*Chicago Sun* $2.00

WINGS OVER THE DESERT
By GRAHAM M. DEAN
Illustrated by Wesley Dennis

"Thrilling story of the Civil Air Patrol, centered around a young cub reporter."—*Retail Bookseller* $2.00

SANDY
By ELIZABETH JANET GRAY
Color frontispiece by Robert Hallock

"Older readers will enjoy this book for its New England atmosphere . . . the insight it gives into the heart and mind of a modern girl."—*Phila. Friends Intelligencer* $2.00

BORDER IRON
By HERBERT BEST
Illustrated by Erick Berry

"This fine book tells the story of a real boy and his sheepdog, who solve a border dispute over iron ore in the 1750's." —*Baltimore News Post* $2.00

AMERICAN EMPEROR
By ROSE BROWN
Illustrated by C. B. Falls

"A clear picture of Brazil's Portuguese background and an interesting account of Dom Pedro II's 49-year regime." —GERTRUDE ANDRUS, *Library Journal* $2.50

NEW FOUND WORLD
By KATHERINE B. SHIPPEN
Illustrations and maps by C. B. Falls

"A lively, informed, and fascinating book . . . six hundred years of the life and history of South America."—*Saturday Review of Literature* $3.50

Write for free, illustrated 1945-46 catalogue THE VIKING PRESS, 18 East 48 Street, New York 17

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hofstra College, are fragmentary and uneven. They reveal no new facets of the master's thinking; they give no direct evidence of his reactions to Franco and the Falange. Their value lies chiefly in the indirect light they shed on the disintegration that was taking place in Spanish life during the last days of the republic and the first years of the Franco "purification." They are fragments, but happily some of them carry the old fire. It would have been of material aid had they been dated and placed. As it is, one has only internal evidence by which to guess approximately when they were written, and where—in Spain or in a Latin American country—they might have seen first publication.

Whether he is discussing Kierkegaard or obscenity, Unamuno is always interesting. When he dissects the effect of Hispanic envy on Spain's children in the Peninsula and the New World, when he casts a bored glance at Don Juan Tonorio, when he justifies his liking for the superrealism of carved Spanish Christs or mourns over the increase of licentiousness, which he finds "due to the absence of high, fecund ideals, to the lack of religious interest, to the non-existence of deep spiritual preoccupations," and to "false pseudo-paganism"—at such moments he is the puritan Basque, castigating the evils that surround him. When he praises Barcelona at the expense of Madrid he is the impish thorn in the proud Castilian flesh.

In this translation the famous Unamuno style loses sparkle and the gift for paradox goes dim. But the echo is still there. Of this people, who pride themselves on their spiritual ascendancy, he says, "What ruins Spanish-speaking people—I have said it many times and in many ways, and I shall repeat it many more times and in new ways—what ruins them is their materialism disguised as practicalism." Those who accuse him of playing too much with paradox he calls lazy-minded. His intent, he says, "has been, is, and will continue to be, that those who read my works shall think and meditate upon fundamental problems, and has never been to hand them completed thoughts. I have always sought to agitate, and, even better, to stimulate, rather than to instruct. Neither do I sell bread, nor is it bread, but yeast or ferment."

There is every reason for collecting and publishing the bubbles of ferment in this volume. But to enjoy their full flavor one must still go to Unamuno's "Life of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza," and to that book whose title haunts our present world, "The Tragic Sense of Life." Compared to them, this book comes as an extended footnote.

MILDRED ADAMS

THE CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA

by Gunther Stein

For 12 years Asia correspondent
for the Christian Science Monitor and Manchester Guardian

"The most up-to-date handbook, amazingly complete, of questions about the Chinese Reds, views held about them . . . and their expositions and interpretations of what they do and why."—Owen Lattimore, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*

Illustrated with photographs and color map

At all bookstores • $3.50

WHITTLESEY HOUSE
A Division of the McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York 18

Psychiatry and the Soldier

MEN UNDER STRESS. By Lieutenant Colonel Roy R. Grinker and Major John P. Spiegel, M. C., A. A. F. The Blakiston Company. $5.

PSYCHIATRY IN MODERN WARFARE. By Edward A. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

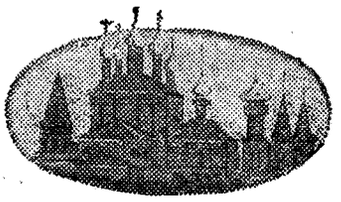
THE war is over, that is, V-E and V-J Day have come and gone. Demobilization has already slipped from the front page, though well over half the armed forces are still in uniform. The two books under review may seem, therefore, to be as dated as yesterday's headlines. Yet a careful reading of these 500 pages, written by four doctors, would provide the intelligent, socially responsible layman with sufficient sympathetic insight and knowledge to enable him to help wisely in the readjustment of disabled veterans, particularly those whose scars do not show.

The two books could profitably be read in sequence. Strecker and Appel have written an essay, substantially documented, about the state of psychiatry in two world wars. They have described the problems of the psychoneurotic and psychotic soldier from 1914 through 1945, and the treatment accorded to him. The slim volume is not always easy to read, but all of it is clear, including the valuable second part on "demobilization and the return to civilian life." Strecker, who won his spurs in the First World War, held the outstanding civilian psychiatric assignment in World War II.

"Men Under Stress" may well turn out to be the most important psychiatric summary of World War II. It is written about the men of the Air Forces, but its authors had extensive experience with the infantry and other ground forces during the North African campaign. (Their volume on that campaign is still "restricted.") This book is divided into five parts. Part I briefly describes the selection and background of the men making up the combat team. Then it carefully builds up the picture—the environment of combat, the reactions to combat, the reactions after combat, and possible civilian applications. The meaning of its scientific vocabulary is made clear by the generous use of real cases as illustra-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Christmas
— and forever



THE SHORT NOVELS OF Dostoevsky

With a biographical and critical estimate by **THOMAS MANN**

These 6 *out-of-print* novels by the author of *Crime and Punishment* demonstrate the range of his magnificent talent as a story teller. Thomas Mann, in his introduction, says: "He erected a stupendous life-work of an unheard of novelty and audacity; a surging wealth of passions and visions." Here are the masterpieces included: *Notes From Underground, The Gambler, The Friend of the Family, Uncle's Dream, The Eternal Husband, The Double.*

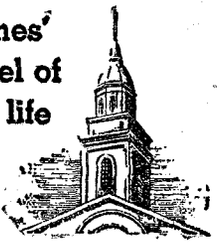
A Permanent Library edition. *840 pages, $4.00*

☞ **Another distinguished *Permanent Library* edition.**

THE GREAT SHORT NOVELS OF HENRY JAMES

10 complete novels by America's newly rediscovered master of letters. Edited by *Philip Rahv.* *840 pages, $4.00*

Henry James' great novel of American life



The Bostonians

By HENRY JAMES

THE BOSTONIANS was considered too strong for America's reading palate. Since its original publication in 1886, it has never until now been reprinted. *Edmund Wilson* calls it "a remarkable and too little read novel". If James' shorter works have given you a taste for more, this is the "major work" you've been looking for. Introduction by *Philip Rahv.* *400 pages, $3.00*

America demanded this enlarged and permanent edition

FRANKLIN DELANO Roosevelt

A MEMORIAL

An expanded and illustrated gift edition of the famous *Pocket Book.* Complete with an index, and new material in a large, handsome format. *320 pages, $3.00*

By the talented author of BLOOD FOR A STRANGER

Little Friend, Little Friend

By RANDALL JARRELL

A new book of verse by one of the most gifted of the new generation of American poets. It expresses in poetic terms and with rare insight the ideas of a lively, sensitive, original, and learned mind. *120 pages; $2.00*

At all bookstores

THE DIAL PRESS, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions. The method of treatment and its implication for civilian psychiatry are discussed in some detail.

The amazing thing about the psychiatrists in this war—in contrast to the psychologists—is their complete though not always mentioned acceptance of Freudian psychodynamics. Using adaptations of the techniques of hypnosis, uncovering drugs, sedation, shock therapy, ordinary reassurance, and, above all, where possible, patience in establishing *rapport* with the soldier, almost every one of them based his approach on the relation of personality to the trauma of war. Personality in this context is regarded as a composite of its Freudian descriptions—id, ego, and super-ego, or variations of that vocabulary. Moreover, the fact that these psychiatrists in many instances have held posts of high civilian responsibility as neurologists—Grinker was chairman of the Department of Neuropsychiatry at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago—lends an undergirding of sound laboratory science to Freudian analysis.

This combination gives to "Men Under Stress" much of its value. If its approach gains wide acceptance we may hope that in the future emotionally disabled civilians who are not wealthy enough to afford a long analysis or poor enough to be treated as free clinic patients may get the necessary attention at a cost within their means.

I might end this review with a quotation from Strecker: "War, which of necessity is largely destructive, has some scientific and humane by-products." One such by-product is found in these two volumes. For they offer the promise of psychiatry's future aid for an as yet indifferent public.

FRANK N. TRAGER

KAETHE 1867-1945 **KOLLWITZ**
LITHOGRAPHS DRAWINGS
NEW SCULPTURE **IRMA ROTHSTEIN**
WEEKDAYS 9-9, SUNDAYS 2-6
Books in English, German and French
Large selection of art books and reproductions
THE TRIBUNE BOOK AND ART CENTER 100 WEST 42ND STREET
6th Ave. Subway Arcade beneath Schulte Cigar Store

STAGE PLAYS

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller *present*
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS
A New Play by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW
Staged by ELIA KAZAN
FULTON THEATRE Forty-sixth Street West of Broadway. Circle 6-6380.
Evenings 8:40. $4.20, $3.60, $3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20 Matinees Wednesday and Saturday. $3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20. Tax inclusive.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS!"—Nichols, *Times*
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone: Circle 6-4636
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp

MICHAEL TODD *Presents*
UP IN CENTRAL PARK
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS *Lyrics by* DOROTHY FIELDS *Music by* SIGMUND ROMBERG
BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway at 53rd Street. Matinees: WED. & SAT.

In Short

"The Rebuilding of Italy," by M. H. Macartney (Macmillan, $1.25). A brief review of the tasks facing the Italian people in restoring their democracy. The author's approach is sympathetic, and he urges the need for outside help in relieving the pressure of population and making possible the attainment of a secure, if modest, standard of living for Italy. On such burning issues as the monarchy and relations with the Vatican, Mr. Macartney sums up very, very judicially, leaving his jury or readers to form their own conclusions.

"Ourselves Inc. The Story of Consumer Free Enterprise," by Leo R. Ward (Harper, $2.50). Father Ward of Notre Dame University reports with enthusiasm on a round of visits to consumer cooperatives in the Middle West. In a final chapter he calls for "a marriage between cooperation and religion" as a way of salvation for a world "going out of the frying-pan of individualism into the fire of collectivism."

"Economic Reconstruction," edited by Seymour E. Harris (McGraw-Hill, $3.75). Based largely on a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, this volume includes papers on a wide variety of post-war economic problems, domestic and international. Included in a distinguished list of contributors are Alvin H. Hansen, Mordecai Ezekiel, Gerhard Colm, S. Morris Livingstone, Gottfried Haberler, and Eveline M. Burns.

"Journey Underground," by Flight Officer David G. Prosser (Dutton, $2.75). Parachuting out of a bomber, the author landed near Paris and was nursed, sheltered, fed, and eventually smuggled into Spain by members of the French resistance. Flight Officer Prosser gives a straightforward account of his experiences, but in his anxiety not "to shoot a line," as they say in the R. A. F., he has adopted a style that tends to flatten out some of the excitement of the story.

"Socialism Looks Forward," by John Strachey (Philosophical Library, $2). John Strachey, who is now a junior member of His Majesty's Government, writes of "things as they were" in pre-war Britain and of the way to produce a better social order. A tract for the unsophisticated, written in words of one syllable and rather over-simple in its treatment of some of the problems which are going to prove troublesome for Britain under any economic system.

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUISE BOGAN is Poetry Consultant of the Library of Congress. Her most recent book is "Poems and New Poems."

SIDNEY HOOK, head of the department of philosophy at New York University, is the author of "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," and other books.

JAMES GROSSMAN, a New York lawyer, has contributed to *The Nation* and *Partisan Review*.

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a close student of Spanish literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

NOW!

"The Lost Weekend"

From the novel millions talked about in whispers!

Starring

RAY MILLAND
JANE WYMAN

With

Phillip TERRY • Howard daSILVA
Doris DOWLING • Frank FAYLEN

- Produced by CHARLES BRACKETT
- Directed by BILLY WILDER
- Screen Play by CHARLES BRACKETT and BILLY WILDER

From the Novel by
CHARLES JACKSON

RIVOLI, B'way and 49th St.

"A nostalgic musical" . . . Cameron, *News*

20th Century-Fox presents

BETTY GRABLE in

THE DOLLY SISTERS

John PAYNE • June HAVER

with

....ON STAGE...

CARL RAVAZZA • BEATRICE KAY
GOMEZ and BEATRICE
Extra! MAURICE ROCCO

Now Playing ROXY 7th Ave. at 50th St.

Special Nation issue on the

ATOMIC BOMB

The December 22 issue of *The Nation* will contain a 24-page insert devoted to summaries of the most significant speeches delivered at The Nation Associates three-day forum on the atomic bomb and its impact on political and economic problems.

Advertising in this issue will be charged at the regular rates. It is expected that the 52,000 print order permitted by our paper supply will be a complete sellout.

Forms for the December 22 issue close Monday, December 10; we must be ready to print by noon, Thursday, December 13.

Advertising Department
THE NATION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.
Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"Loud, Lively Comedy." —N. Y. Sun "Loaded With Laughter." —N. Y. Herald-Tribune

SAMUEL GOLDWYN *presents*

DANNY KAYE
'WONDER MAN'

In TECHNICOLOR — WITH
VIRGINIA MAYO • VERA-ELLEN
— PLUS —
'FOREVER YOURS' GALE STORM

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island
Queens
Keith's
FLUSHING
ALDEN
Jamaica
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Manhattan
COLONIAL

"An Enchanting Musical" —N. Y. Sun "Songs Ripple Infectiously" —PM

Rodgers & Hammerstein's
'STATE FAIR'

DANA ANDREWS • JEANNE CRAIN
DICK HAYMES • VIVIAN BLAINE
In TECHNICOLOR • A 20th Century-Fox Picture
— And —
'Circumstantial Evidence' Lloyd Nolan Michael O'Shea

PRAISED TO THE SKIES!

"I don't know whether it is better in its humanity or its exciting story!" —*Sinclair Lewis*

"Definitely a film to be seen!" —*Samuel Grafton*

M-G-M Presents

The LAST CHANCE

LOEW'S CRITERION
BROADWAY & 45th

★ BUY VICTORY BONDS ★

It's Paramount's Gay Whirl of Romance, Adventure & Rhythm!

Dorothy LAMOUR • Arturo deCORDOVA

"MASQUERADE in MEXICO"

WITH

Patric Knowles • Ann Dvorak • George Rigaud

Midnight Feature Nightly

IN PERSON
THE BAND OF THE YEAR
TONY PASTOR and his ORCHESTRA
— plus —
The Nonchalants
— plus —
Paul & Eva Reyes
Extra Added Attraction!
Marion Hutton
Don Baker at the Organ

Buy Victory Bonds

NOW PLAYING PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your Gift List!

CROSS SECTION 1945
A Collection of New American Writing
Edited by Edwin Seaver

Right out of America's lusty new literature is hewn this anthology of unpublished work by 33 young writers. Some, like Richard Wright, you know; others as gifted and challenging appear for the first time in this book . . . as richly-grained, varied, exciting a collection of contemporary writing as has been presented. $3.50

BACK TO LIFE
The Emotional Adjustment of Our Veterans
By Herbert I. Kupper, M.D.

". . . the best to date. Thorough study of a book like this is essential to our knowing how to act when we welcome the veteran home."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* $2.50

SEVEN TIMES THE LEADING MAN
A Novel by Egon Hostovsky

"A powerful, strange story whose demonic terror is as classic as Poe and as contemporary as the torture camps of Himmler."—*Waldo Frank.* "This book discloses a novelist of high achievement."—*Lewis Mumford.* $2.75

HAHNEMANN: MEDICAL REBEL
By Martin Gumpert, M.D.

The turbulent life of the founder of homeopathy who, in civilizing the medical barbarism of his own day, has enriched the science of ours. $3.00

ALL BRAVE SAILORS
The Story of the S. S. Booker T. Washington
By John Beecher

"There's a new book called *All Brave Sailors* which is going to make history."—*Harry Hansen in the N. Y. World-Telegram.* $2.50

L. B. FISHER PUBL. CORP.
381 Fourth Avenue New York 16

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON found the farce "High Life Below Stairs" very amusing on the stage. Later, he was amazed to discover that one could read it "without being aware that one was reading anything at all." He would, I think, have much the same experience with the new smash hit by Lindsay and Crouse, which was once called "I'd Rather Be Left" but is now somewhat more portentously entitled "State of the Union" (Hudson Theater). The piece is a wisecracking political comedy, a sort of "Of Thee I Sing" without any singing, and it makes a sufficiently diverting evening chiefly for two reasons. In the first place, there is an extraordinarily slick production, plus one very fine performance contributed by Ruth Hussey in the role of the fall guy's knowing wife. In the second place, there is a rapid succession of lines which somehow manage to seem both new and witty despite the fact that they are almost never both and are very frequently neither.

The two authors have put themselves squarely on the side of the angels—much more unequivocally so than the authors of "Of Thee I Sing" did, even though that was written in the days before one of them woke up to find himself in the right-thinking higher brackets. Indeed, the last big speech of "State of the Union," delivered passionately by Miss Hussey, sounds really eloquent either because it is written with deeper conviction than most of the play or, possibly, because the actress manages to put great feeling into it. Moreover, and even during the less inspired passages of comic writing-with-a-purpose, it is pleasant to hear enlightened sentiments getting the kind of response from the audience which used to be reserved exclusively for anti-Roosevelt jokes. Whether this means that a different spirit is abroad in the world or whether it means merely that news of the play's tendency had got out in advance to its predestined audience, I do not know. Gloomily I suspect that the latter possibility is the actuality, for it has been my observation that sentiments in a play get applauded for precisely the same reason that sentiments get applauded at most political rallies, which are, as a matter of course, attended by few except those who already know which way they are going to vote. However, "State of the Union" will doubtedly serve to hearten our side, and I am all for it.

But I still cannot pretend to think either that the wit is very scintillating or that the dramaturgy is of a very advanced sort. The curtain lines of the second act are: "What *is* the difference between the Republicans and the Democrats?" "They're in and we are out"; the final curtain comes down with the heroine squarely facing the audience and registering delight at a slap on the behind from her husband—the fact that he had stopped administering such playful chastisement at the same time that he had stopped sharing her bed having been carefully planted a little earlier in the evening. If the wisecrack just quoted and given the traditional place of honor in the play's structure is brilliant, if the bit of business which concludes the whole is an example of high dramaturgy, then I will vote America First at the next election.

During the course of the evening I jotted down some of the most effective lines and I shall now cite a few of them, not in order to rub in what I have already said, but merely to protect myself against the charge of unfairness by spreading the evidence on the record. When one character asks another why governors always snore, that other convulses everybody by asserting, "It is an occupational disease"; when the heroine gets drunk at her own party and thereby gains courage to tell her guests where to get off, she lets us in on the secret of her condition by boasting, "I'm a very thick quinker." "I'd rather be tight than President" is another specimen of what sounds like wit but isn't, and "Just because I don't trust him is no reason why he shouldn't trust me" is another. There is, to be sure, one really witty line uttered as an obiter dictum when it is learned that the candidate's estranged wife will accompany him on a speaking tour: "Politics makes strange bedfellows." But in New York, at least, that crack was well circulated during the Presidential campaign of 1940.

"Are You with It?" (Century Theater) is a lively musical show which got extremely good notices and has probably settled down to a long run. In order that prospective customers may know what they are in for they should be informed that though the show is unquestionably entertaining in its own way, the entertainment is of a now rather old-fashioned sort—lots of noise, lots of speed, lots of tap dancing, and nothing in the least bit novel or "smart" by the standards of the moment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE second annual "Portrait of America" exhibition is now functioning, under the aegis of the Pepsi-Cola Company, at the International Building, Rockefeller Center (through December 15). Here are 150 paintings by living American artists which were selected by a jury of fellow-artists from 3,270 items submitted in open competition from all over the country. The jury was divided into a "traditional" and a "modern" panel, and the entrants were asked to specify under which category they wished their work to be judged. Of the pictures finally hung, twenty were awarded prizes by a jury composed of a museum director, an art critic, and three painters. As it happened, all the prize-winning canvases were entered as either "modern" or both "modern" and "traditional," none being entered simply as "traditional."

This procedure of selection, with its unabashed assertion that two different yardsticks were needed for the fair evaluation of contemporary art, augured the worst. And the worst came about. Four-fifths of the pictures shown are rampantly bad—to say they are mediocre would give an incorrect impression. What is shocking is that so many of the artists present do not seem to possess even a journeyman's control of their craft, much less an artist's. There are passages in not a few canvases that would not have been allowed to go unwiped in any decent elementary art school; let art lovers take a good look at Paul Burlin's "Soda Jerker," which won the first prize of $2,500.

Contemporary American painting at its best is not one-quarter as bad as this monstrous show makes it out to be. For the discrepancy the jurors, I suppose, must be held responsible—unless, as is possible, our better painters did not bother to submit their work. Abstract art is gingerly represented, in very bad examples. The School of Paris is admitted in its fourth-hand forms. It is perhaps because the title of the exhibition was taken literally that it abounds so in raw landscapes and street scenes. America apparently is not people but what you see from the window—not that it makes much difference. But the fact that the hues of the American scene are not held to be as soft and harmonious as those of the European is no excuse for coarse brushwork and muddy color.

ATOMIC ENERGY in WAR and PEACE

By GESSNER G. HAWLEY,
Chief Technical Editor, Reinhold Publishing Corp.

and SIGMUND W. LEIFSON
Head of Dept. of Physics, University of Nevada

The basic principles of atomic energy *can* be understood by any intelligent layman who thinks as he reads. The future welfare of the world requires that everyone be informed about the nature and the possibilities of this new social dynamic. In a democracy, matters of national policy should reflect the will of the people—and this can be expressed intelligently only when it is based on *knowledge*.

This simply worded and logically presented explanation of atomic energy contains *all* the essential scientific facts, with concise descriptions and graphic diagrams. It brushes up elementary physics and chemistry as it goes along. Here are some of the subjects covered: Combustion, explosions, energy transformation, isotopes, neutrons, nuclear fission, and atomic structure. The social and economic implications of atomic energy are discussed, with emphasis on the cost and supply factors.

225 pages • Many illustrations and diagrams • Price $2.50

THE ART OF BUILDING CITIES

By CAMILLO SITTE; *translated from the German by Lt. Charles T. Stewart, USNR, former director, The Urban Land Institute*

A classic in its field, thoroughly modern in its approach to the problem of urban planning. Its first appearance in English will be welcomed by architects and city designers. In addition to the original text, it features a foreword by the noted architect, Eliel Saarinen, and a supplementary chapter by Arthur C. Holden, illustrating applications of Sitte's theories in New York and Washington. Sympathetic in treatment, architecturally sound—above all, practical and constructively modern in its outlook.

Profusely Illustrated. (*Ready January*) $5.50

NEW CITY PATTERNS

By S. E. SANDERS, *Director, City Planning Research, FWA, PBA, Washington, D. C.*

and A. J. RABUCK, *City Planning Research, PBA, Washington, D. C.*

One of the most fascinating and truly enjoyable discussions on city planning, this book is thoroughly practical and realistic. The text is devoted to able discussions of the organization of metropolitan planning commissions and the exact methods to be followed to insure that each new improvement or change shall coincide with a carefully predetermined plan. The authors devote much attention to parks, greenbelts, wedges, playgrounds, community shopping and parking areas; non-stop highways diverting heavy traffic from residential streets.

Profusely Illustrated. (*Ready February*) $7.50

REINHOLD BOOKS
of current interest

THE ELECTRON MICROSCOPE
By E. F. Burton and W. H. Kohl

Ever since the publication of this first book in English on this phenomenal new tool of science, the demand for an enlarged and more up-to-date edition has been increasing. Now in preparation, this will be available early in 1946: many more pictures, amplified text, wider appeal! Full descriptions of amazing recent work in biology, metallurgy, and related fields. 325 pages. Profusely illustrated. $4.00

THE WAR ON CANCER
By Edward Podolsky, M.D.

An excellent presentation for the layman of the causes of cancer and the many ways in which it is being combated: treatment by radio-activity, X-ray, surgery, low temperature and other methods is described; chemical and dietary lines of attack are summarized. 180 pages. Illustrated. $1.75

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE TERRAIN
Maps and Their Use in the Field in Peace and War
By H. A. Musham

For a "map-conscious" world. Sportsmen, hikers, country dwellers in general will find this a fascinating book, opening up new understanding of the countryside. 223 Pages. Illustrated. $3.85

THE PHYSICS OF FLIGHT
By Alfred Landé

Here, in condensed and concise form, are all of the essential principles involved in the flight of heavier-than-air machines. Illustrated with sketches, diagrams, and supplemented with problems, 125 Pages. Illustrated. $2.50

CITIES OF LATIN AMERICA
By Francis Violich

An exceptionally discerning discussion of the cultural heritage of the colorful cities studied, their planning problems, their hopes for future betterment. 241 Pages. Illustrated. $3.50

THE AMAZING PETROLEUM INDUSTRY
By V. A. Kalichevsky

An interesting picture of the world's most important raw material—petroleum. In non-technical language, it tells simply what petroleum is, how it is obtained, what it does. 234 Pages. Illustrated. $2.25

At Your Bookstore or Direct
REINHOLD PUBLISHING CORP.
330 West 42nd Street **New York 18, N. Y.**
Also publishers of Chemical Engineering Catalog, Metal Industries Catalog, Materials & Methods, formerly Metals and Alloys, and Progressive Architecture — Pencil Points.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The mass of art in any period is mediocre, but it is not often that a prevailing style is founded on a misconception. The curious thing about many of the pictures at the "Portrait of America" show is that they are not conceived with a banality equal to that of their execution. In many cases they were thought through with fair success in terms of the values of dark and light; complete disaster ensued only when color was laid on in the modern unvalued manner. The explanation for this lies in the unpublished fact that most American painters of the present period are more academic by instinct than they admit to themselves; their art has nothing to do essentially with anything later than Manet's first period; and they think and feel in the language of values—of darks and lights—rather than of color. Yet they insist on superimposing color, in the manner of Cézanne, Gauguin, or Utrillo, upon a framework that calls for glazes, half-tones, gradual transitions.

There are, of course, two or three mildly successful pictures present: for one, Max Weber's still life, which won the second prize—and which demonstrates again that Weber should leave landscape and the human figure alone from now on. But taken together with the calamitous Whitney Annuals, the National Academy of Design's fliers into modern art, and the recent Critics' Show at the Armory on Park Avenue—all of them, aesthetically speaking, of a supreme squalor—the "Portrait of America" exhibition makes the situation really grave. We are in danger of having a new kind of official art foisted on us—official "modern" art. It is being done by well-intentioned people like the Pepsi-Cola Company who fail to realize that to be for something uncritically does more harm in the end than being against it. For while official art, when it was thoroughly academic, furnished at least a sort of challenge, official "modern" art of this type will confuse, discourage, and dissuade the true creator.

The
KENYON REVIEW
announces for early publication . . .

The Circle of Chalk, Act V, from Bertolt Brecht's new play, translated from the German by W. H. Auden and James Stern.

Homage to Valery: appreciations by André Gide and Lawrence Leighton

Innocents, a long fiction by M. P. (Mrs. Robert Maynard) Hutchins.

Theatre of Jean-Paul Sartre, by Eric Russell Bentley.

Shapiro Is All Right, by William Carlos Williams.

Marxism and Modern Anthropology, by Clyde Kluckhohn.

Pre-Hispanic Quota in Mexican Mural Art, by Jean Charlot.

The Intimations of Wordsworth's Ode, by Cleanth Brooks.

75 cents per single copy
$3.00 per annual subscription

Postpaid from GAMBIER, OHIO

Books by Mail

In spite of shortages we do our best to mail promptly and accurately to your order books reviewed and advertised in *The Nation* and elsewhere . . . anywhere the mail goes! No mailing charges. No c. o. d.'s.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**
(corner Fulton Street)

BOOKS FOUND FREE!
WHAT BOOKS DO YOU WANT?
We quote lowest market prices. No charge for locating Hard-to-Find and Out-of-Print Books. All books, OLD or NEW, mailed POST-FREE.
SEARCHLIGHT BOOK NATION
22 East 17th Street, New York City

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TOVEY'S "Beethoven" (Oxford, $3) is an uncompleted first draft, of which he revised only a few pages. "There is," says the editor, "only internal evidence that the unfinished chapter was the last in the plan"; but that internal evidence is the amount of ground the book has covered before it breaks off. The ground is strictly musical: "While admitting that 'the style is the man,'" Tovey writes, "I refuse to involve the reader in vulgar entanglements between the art and the artist's private or official life"; also, "the task of dealing with the music as music is more than enough for me; and, even now that an intelligent interest in music is more widely distributed than the music-lovers of last century could ever have dreamt of as possible, there is crying need for a clearer understanding of the nature of music itself . . . the humble and professional facts of rhythm, melody, counterpoint, harmony, and tonality." The book, then, is a statement of Tovey's ideas about these elements as they are used in musical forms, illustrated chiefly by examples of Beethoven's practice, but with side-references to the practices of other composers.

"My professional terminology," he observes, "is rigorously confined to generalizations from the behavior of musical compositions." So are his ideas; and to be understood they must be re-derived by the reader from his own first-hand experience of that behavior. He must, that is, turn to each passage of music that Tovey mentions to discover in it the meaning of what Tovey says about it. That makes the reading of the book a long process (I have been able only to glance through it), and really possible only for someone who can do the reading of music it requires. It is, then, a book for the person with at least the amount of musical education this presumes; and even a musically educated person will have difficulty with some of the ideas, or with Tovey's statement of them.

A rereading of his "Integrity of Music," "Musical Textures," and a couple of other lectures, last summer, sharpened into conviction what had been a vague impression—that Tovey's epigrammatic style is one of his strengths when it succeeds but a weakness when it fails: in the one case the compression brings the elements of the idea into wonderfully illuminated relations; in the other it presents them with their relations obscured.

There is a great deal of this obscurity when Tovey is making general observations; very little of it when he is pointing out the detailed behavior of a musical composition. And it was while I happened to be rereading his marvelous expositions of Haydn's symphonies, in "Essays in Musical Analysis," that I received the program notes for the Boston Symphony's first New York concerts, with an article by Ernest Newman in which I discovered that he too has "long wanted to do something to try to help the obviously increasing number of people who . . . are now beginning to realize what pleasure great music can give them," and that his help was to advise them to give up their idea of "a sort of ordnance highway to musical appreciation" to which they can be directed by "a musical traffic policeman. No amount . . . of charting of 'sonata form'—which, by the way, is largely an abstraction, a myth created by the nineteenth-century pedagogues—will *of itself* enable you in the least to sense the difference between a good first movement and a poor one. . . . A symphonic first movement . . . may reproduce the 'form,' the procedure of the great first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement of the Eroica down to the minutest detail, and yet not be worth, as music, the paper it is written on. The vitality of the great work, the quality that makes it Beethoven's . . . must therefore reside elsewhere than in its 'form,' its 'technique.' . . . What you have to do is to discover that life for yourself and make it yours; and the only way to do it is by listening to great works until the composer's thought has become part of your own inmost being, just as you will learn, for your own non-practical purposes, more about sculpture by spending a few weeks with the Elgin marbles than by reading descriptions of the tools with which the sculptor works and the professional manner of handling these."

Certainly one's appreciation of a piece of sculpture will not be increased by knowledge of the sculptor's tools and the methods of their use; but one might look at the Elgin marbles many weeks, and fail to perceive formal relations among the elements that an expert eye could point out. So with music: Tovey is aware of the danger of confusing "knowledge which is relevant only to the discipline of an artist's training" with "knowledge that is relevant to the understanding of works of art"; but the latter knowledge includes, for him, the realities of sonata form that can be observed in Haydn's practice, which, he points out, "constantly upsets the orthodoxies of the text-books"; and one might listen alone to Haydn's symphonies for a long time without perceiving the things Tovey points out and without getting from them the pleasure they were intended to give. "Balance of keys, balance of sentences, and balance of contrasts, animated by a sense of dramatic movement . . .—these," says Tovey, "and not the external signs of symmetry, are the principles of Haydn's form"; these, I would say, are what Haydn intended the listener's mind to be affected by, as he intended it to receive from the form of a certain first movement the "impression . . . of perpetual expansion as regards themes and phrases and developments, while the perfect balance of keys and harmonies provides that sense of underlying symmetry which makes the expansion so exhilarating"; and they are what one's mind might, like Newman's, be unaware of.

Someone else, finally, may use Haydn's procedures with other ideas and produce music that isn't worth the paper it is written on. But used by Haydn with his own ideas they produce much of the life that is in his music.

encyclopedia of the ARTS

GIFT BOOK DELUXE

Real Gold Imprint

Authoritative, comprehensive compendium of *all* the arts, of *all* times and *all* places. Monumental in conception and scope, more than one-hundred authorities collaborated in its preparation.

DAGOBERT D. RUNES
Editor-in-Chief
Harry G. Schrickel
Co-Editor

FILM
MUSIC
DANCE
THEATRE
PAINTING
SCULPTURE
LITERATURE
DECORATION
ARCHITECTURE

ALL-INCLUSIVE, IN ONE VOLUME
★ A History of the Arts
★ A Handbook of Techniques and Materials
★ Special Articles by Leading Authorities
★ Definitions of All Art Terms

LIMITED EDITION
ORDER NOW
1,100 Pages Boxed $10.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
Publishers
15 E. 40th St., New York 16, N.Y.

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, *Publishers*
15 E. 40th St., Dept. N, N.Y. 16, N.Y.
Please send me ..... copies of the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE ARTS, at $10 per copy. Enclosed are $.....
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....

TO ORDER ANY BOOK described or advertised in this issue
USE THIS COUPON! (Books sent postage free anywhere in U.S. and to members of the armed forces overseas.)

512 Phone orders in N.Y. City: CIrcle 6-1700, Ext. 50

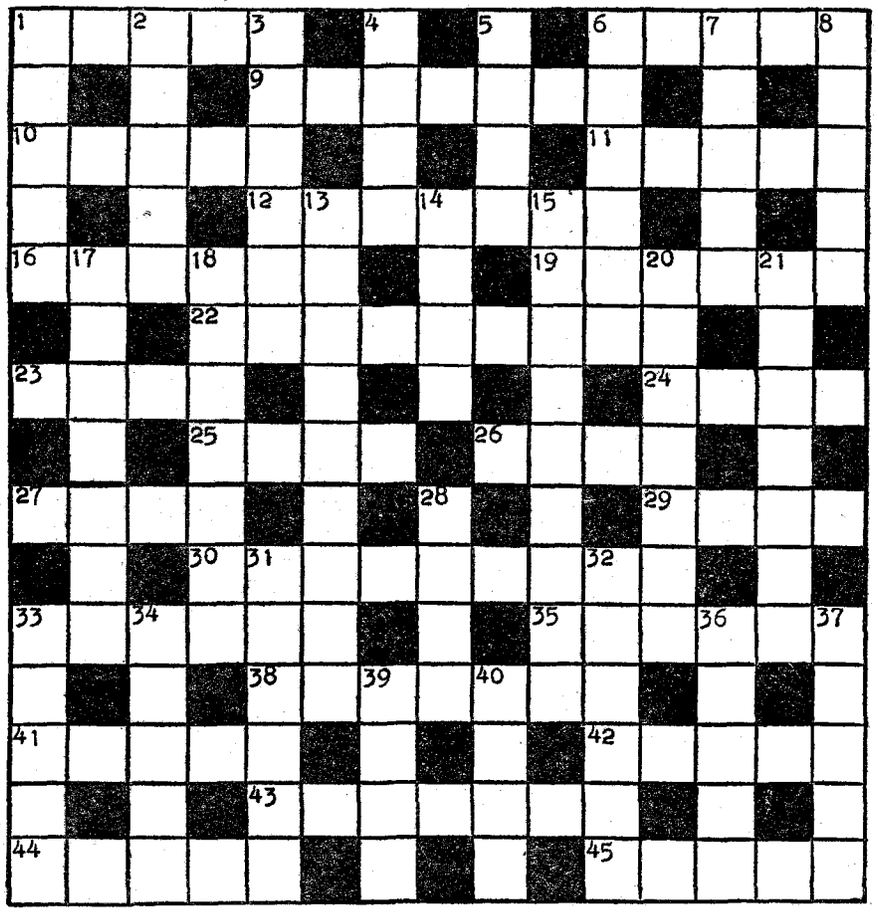
To: **Doubleday Book Shops,**
Mail Order Department, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Please send me the following books for which I enclose $.....;
(PRINT TITLES OF BOOKS WANTED) .....
.....
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... *Zone No.* (IF ANY) ..... *State* .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 137

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Not G. B. S.
6 How a pedagogue might answer one's knock
9 One of the best-known characters in *Arabian Nights*
10 Not the "old, old story," evidently
11 Accustom
12 "One-eyed steaks"
16 Proverbially a hungry sportsman
19 Sounds rather a familiar way to address an English alumnus (two words, 3 & 3)
22 More often one who has left something undone, perhaps
23 Browning wrote of some unsuspected one in far-off seas
24 May follow fire
25 A scrubwoman turns roguish
26 He is always ready to listen to a safe proposition
27 A journey by ox-wagon
29 Latin poet (43 B.C.-17 A.D.)
30 "O, I can vote!" (anag.)
33 Suitable vegetables for Scandinavians?
35 Comes after
38 Embrace
41 He shows us up
42 I am always to be found in this Florida resort
43 Does this Kansas town consist entirely of large stores?
44 Far from fresh
45 Relationship of Rose Maybud to Aunt Hannah

DOWN

1 A Tom in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (a guileless lad)
2 You'll find welcome in this asylum
3 A well-known Johnny in the spirit world
4 An English artist and legislator concoct a swindle
5 One looks for this tool in a daze
6 Isolate
7 Every honest miller was supposed to have a golden one
8 High and thin
13 One way of distinguishing a German soldier (two words, 4 & 5)
14 Important family in *The Merry Wives*
15 Colonies where the settlers never complain without caws
17 Loosen threads
18 Pinched and twisted
20 In truth, most of their flying was done on flags
21 Milky-hued
28 Card game in which Pharaoh became involved
31 Changed course
32 "- - - - - -'s poison is another man's breakfast," or something (two words, 3 & 3)
33 French marshal who starts out with spirit
34 Preliminary gas attack before starting operations
36 A letter of address to the wise
37 River and fishing-net in one
39 He has two per annum
40 Clay which sounds like a Cockney's injunction to get a move on

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 136

ACROSS:—1 DOGBANE; 5 EXPOUND; 9 WRATH; 10 SATURATES; 11 GAINSAYER; 12 FORCE; 31 ROUNDED; 15 CALIBAN; 17 FRETSAW; 19 COOPERS; 21 GLADE; 23 SHOVEL HAT; 25 ELIZABETH; 26 RURAL; 27 THYROID; 28 SHEKELS.

DOWN:—1 DOWAGER; 2 GRATITUDE; 3 ASHES; 4 ESSAYED; 5 ENTERIC; 6 PORTFOLIO; 7 UTTER; 8 DISCERN; 14 DESPERADO; 16 BRET HARTE; 17 FIGMENT; 18 WEST END; 19 CLOTHES; 20 SETTLES; 22 AMITY, 24 EERIE.

RESORTS

The Oaks
Vacation Time Never Ends at
—the Year 'Round Resort—All Sports of the Season—Enjoy the crisp, tingling excitement of autumn in the country—with congenial companions bent on fun and frolic.
Don't waste precious time traveling. Capture the wondrous magic of Fall with a visit to THE OAKS—only 50 miles from N. Y.
Make Holiday Reservations Now
Elberon, New Jersey Long Branch 2433

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, roaring fireplace, delicious food — and fun.
Only 55 miles from New York
MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY
PLUM POINT
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

The Fieldstone
On Round Island Lake
A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York. All Sports.
CLOSED — REOPENS DECEMBER 21st
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK N.Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sport activities. Excellent cuisine.
OPEN ALL YEAR Phone Armonk Village 955

The Rein House
Lake Mohegan 42 Miles from N. Y.
FOR REST AND RELAXATION
FISHING ON OUR BEAUTIFUL ESTATE
HORSEBACK RIDING AND GOLF NEARBY
DELICIOUS FOOD—$7 PER DAY—INFORMAL
Accommodation By Reservation Only—Dietary Laws
Mrs. M. F. Rein, Tel. Peekskill, 1747 J.

HATHAWAY SKI LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails, Ski Tow. 700-foot Ski Slope. Delicious food. Easy transportation.
Attractive Winter Rates
For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
A Resort Estate of unmatched beauty. Ideal for winter rest and recreation. Write or phone Ridgefield, Conn. 820.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED